

A NEW
ROMAN HISTORY,
K BY
QUESTION and ANSWER.

IN
A METHOD much more Comprehensive than
any of the Kind extant.

EXTRACTED FROM
ANCIENT AUTHORS,
AND THE

Most Celebrated among the MODERN,
AND

Interspersed with such CUSTOMS as serve to
Illustrate the HISTORY.

With a Complete INDEX.

Designed principally for SCHOOLS.

By the Author of the HISTORY OF ENGLAND by
QUESTION and ANSWER.

The FOURTH EDITION Corrected.

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P R E F A C E.

AS we abound with *Roman Histories*, it may naturally be expected that I should first give some Account of the Motives which induced me to undertake this I now present the Reader with.

Many of the Histories in Question are so very voluminous, that they are no ways fit for those, for whom the following is more immediately designed; I mean our YOUTH, who as they are taught a Variety of Things, ought not to have their Memories so much loaded with any single one, as may be of Prejudice to their attaining the rest. On the other Side, some of these Histories are written in so cursory a Manner that they are but like Indexes; and 'tis well known, that as these are very dry and unpleasing, so they convey very imperfect Ideas to the Mind of a Learner, and consequently contribute very little to his real Improvement.

My Business therefore was, to steer a middle Course; not to draw my Picture (the Subject of it being so extensive) so very large, as might prevent the Eye from taking in every Part of it with Ease; nor on the contrary, to delineate it so much in Miniature, as might make it almost imperceptible. Or in other Words, I judged it would be proper, neither to make my History so copious as our bulky ones, nor so concise as our Epitomes.

The best Piece we have of the latter Kind, is that which the late ingenious Mr. Thomas Brown translated (with Amendments) from the French. I need not speak in Commendation of a Book, which has been so favourably received. However it may be observed, that his is properly but a Sketch of the *Roman History*; and consequently cannot give the requisite Satisfaction to young Persons of an inquisitive Turn of Mind, who are not contented with the bare Shadow or Heads of Things, but love to see them exhibited in a proper Length, and to be informed of the Springs of the several Actions.

Another Motive of my drawing up the ensuing Sheets was, the many Lights which have been thrown into the *Roman History*, since the Time that the Epitomes in our Language were written. As this was an Advantage which my Predecessors in this way had not, and I have made the best use of them in my Power, I presume that this Circumstance will give my Work a Merit, (tho' almost foreign to myself) which theirs cannot boast.

To proceed to the Method and the Materials I had for compiling this History. I chose to do it by Question and Answer, as it is found by Experience to be most agreeable to Youth. This possibly may arise from its having an Air of Conversation; for as they take so much Delight in talking together, 'tis no Wonder that they should

be best pleased with a History that is cast into the Form of a Dialogue.

Besides the ancient Authors I have consulted, I also perused very carefully such of the most eminent among the Moderns, as have written either professedly, or occasionally, of the *Roman Affairs*; and particularly Mr. *De St. Evremont*, Sir *Richard Steele*, Dr. *Kennet*, the Author of the *Reflections on the Grandeur and Declension of the Romans*, the late French Translator of *Eutropius* with Notes, Abbé *Vertot*, Mr. *Rollin*, and Mr. *Echard*.

The four last have been of more immediate Service to me, and accordingly I have made free with them, which I hope will not be thought a Crime, as they furnished me with such excellent Materials, and as I so fairly acknowledge it. There is so much Wisdom and Sagacity in the *Reflections* of Abbé *Vertot*, so much Beauty and Integrity in those of Mr. *Rollin*, that I must have been thought very injudicious, or very ignorant, had I omitted Particulars, which form the greatest Embellishment of the following Sheets.

In a Word, there are very few Observations of my own, and all my Materials are borrowed; so that should this History meet with some little Favour, the only Merit I can claim will be that of having compiled tolerably well, which, by the Way, is a laborious Task, tho' it may not add much to the Reputation of a Writer.

However, that I may not be thought a greater Plagiary than I really am, it may be proper to take Notice, that those Passages which I have copied *verbatim* from Mr. *Rollin's Ancient History*, printed for Messrs. *Knapton*, (a Work that can never be too much applauded) were translated by me from that Author; so that I only transfer part of my own Possessions to another Place, and consequently cannot be accused of Theft for so doing.

I have introduced all such of the *Roman Customs* into my History, as were absolutely necessary for the better Illustration of it; and without which many Passages would have been obscure, or but imperfectly understood. I chose to blend them with the Work, rather than to throw them apart, as I always had an opportunity to insert them naturally, and as it would be less interruption to the Reader in his Perusal of the History.

With respect to the Chronology, as it contributes so much to the Perspicuity of a Work of this Kind, I have been as accurate as possible on that Head.

Tho' this History is calculated more immediately for the Service of *Youth*, it perhaps will be found not altogether improper for Persons, who are come to Years of Discretion; as I have expatiated much more on the *Roman Affairs* than any Author who has writ in this Way.

The great Encouragement which my *History of England* has met with, lays me under the highest Obligations to the Public; and I shall think myself very happy, if what is here offered should be thought some little Proof, that I am not altogether forgetful of them.

A NEW
ROMAN HISTORY,

By QUESTION and ANSWER:

Compiled from the

MOST CELEBRATED HISTORIANS.

BOOK I. Chap. I.

The ORIGIN of the ROMANS.

(ANN. MUN. 2824.)

Q. **T**O whom do this famous People owe their Original?

A. To *Æneas*, the son of *Anchises*, by *Venus*.

Q. In what manner?

A. *Troy* being destroyed by the *Greeks*, *Æneas*, with an inconsiderable number of followers, had the good fortune to escape the general devastation. Sailing from his native country, after a long and troublesome voyage, and meeting with a great variety of adventures, he, three years after the destruction of the above-mentioned City, and above 400 years before the building of *Rome*, landed in a part of *Italy*, then called

B. *Latium*,

Latium, and at this time *Campagna di Roma*. Here, addreiling *Lavinia*, daughter to *Latinus*, King of that Country, he married her; having first killed, in a Duel, *Turnus*, King of the *Rutuli*, his Rival. The Crown devolving on *Æneas*, after the demise of his Father-in-law, he removed the imperial Seat from *Laurentum* to *Lavinium*, a City he had built in honour of his royal Consort. But engaging in a bloody war with *Mezentius*, a King of the *Hetrurians*, or *Tuscans*, he was slain, after having reigned but four Years.

Q. Who succeeded *Æneas*?

A. *Ascanius*, his son by a former wife; but *Lavinia*, being left with child by *Æneas*, fled, out of fear, into the woods, and was there delivered of a son, who, from the place of his birth, was called *Sylvius*. Thirty years after the building of *Lavinium*, *Ascanius* resigned it to his Mother-in-law, and founded *Alba-Longa*, which he made his seat.

Q. Had *Ascanius* any children?

A. He had a son called *Iulus*, from whom the famous family of the *Julii* sprung. This son, after his mother's decease, contended with *Sylvius* for the Throne: but the people thinking that it belonged to *Latinus*'s race, bestowed it on *Sylvius*, and the Priesthood on *Iulus*, in whose Family it thenceforward continued. After *Sylvius*, succeeded 13 Kings of the same race for near 400 years, who all made *Alba* their Capital, and many of them were likewise called *Sylvius*. These Kings were as follow; *Æneas Sylvius*, who reigned 31 years, *Latinus* 51, *Alba* 39, *Capeus I.* 26, *Capys* 28, *Capeus II.* 13, *Tiberinus* 8, *Agrippa* 24, *Alladius* 19, *Aventinus* 37, *Procas*, 23, *Amulius* 42, and *Numitor* his brother, who was the last King of *Alba*.

Q. Was there a good harmony between the two brothers?

A. No. *Amulius*, being jealous of the power of his elder brother *Numitor*, rebelled against, and drove him from the Throne. And, to secure it to himself and his posterity, he obliged *Ilia*, or *Rhea Sylvia*, his brother's only daughter, to take the Habit of a vestal Virgin;

in order that she might be forced either to lead a life of perpetual Virginity, or suffer an ignominious and cruel death, in case she violated it.

Q. Had this precaution the desired effect?

A. No. For *Rhea Sylvia*, some time after, giving way to the frailty of nature, proved with child; and to screen her guilt, (as was but too often the custom in those ages) pretended that she had been overpowered in a dream, by the charms and caresses of the God *Mars*, who, she said, appeared to her in the midst of Thunder and Lightning. A supposed commerce with Deities, so far from reflecting dishonour on a Virgin, was thought glorious: and the general prevalence of this absurd opinion, gave opportunity for the carrying on a multitude of Intrigues. But what is more probable, this young Vestal going one day to draw some water in a little wood, (consecrated by the *Albans* to *Mars*) to be employed in the sacrifices of the Goddess *Vesta*; she was ravished by an armed man, (perhaps by *Amulius*) who assumed the name and Character of the above mentioned God.

Q. Was not *Rhea Sylvia* delivered of twins?

A. Yes. *Romulus* and *Remus*.

Q. How did *Amulius* behave on this occasion?

A. Exasperated at the news, he condemned his niece to die; but, at the intercession of *Anto* his only daughter, this sentence was changed into perpetual imprisonment, and she was delivered of the two Children above-mentioned. As for the infants, he commanded them, either to be thrown into the *Tiber*, after having been put into a little wooden basket, or else, to be carried and left in a strange place where there was no probability of their meeting with any relief. However, the man who was ordered to execute this cruel command, left them at the foot of a tree, on the Bank of the *Tiber*. Here they were discovered by *Faustulus* the King's Shepherd; who knowing nothing of the plot, took the infants and carried them to *Acca Laurentia*, his wife, and bid her nurse them as her own Children.

Q. Is not this incident also related with the air of a fable?

A. 'Tis said, that the *Tiber*, out of reverence for their birth, wafted them back (after they had been exposed on its stream) to shore. That a she-wolf passing by the place where the Children lay, stopped to give them suck ; and growing afterwards fond of them, defended them from other wild beasts. This Fiction arose from *Faustulus's* Wife having formerly been a common prostitute, called in *Latin*, *Lupa*. Another fabulous Story is, That a Wood-pecker divided the fond cares of the she-wolf on the above-mentioned occasion, by carrying them ears of corn in her Bill.

Q. What became afterwards of the Children ?

A. They employed themselves in the generous exercises of hunting, racing, taking of robbers, &c. and being informed of their exalted birth, they were ashamed to confine their reputation to a lowly cottage ; after which, a quarrel arising between them and some of *Numitor's* Herdsmen, *Remus* was taken prisoner, and brought before their Master to be examined. *Numitor* being informed, from *Remus* himself, of the surprizing circumstances of his fortune and education, naturally imagined him to be one of his Grandsons who had been exposed ; and was soon confirmed in his supposition, by the arrival of *Faustulus* and *Romulus*.

Q. What was the result of this Discovery ?

A. The whole affair being now laid open, a Consultation was held ; when gaining over to their Party a sufficient number of the disaffected Citizens of *Alba*, they contrived to surprize *Amulius*, and restore *Numitor* to the Throne ; which design was afterwards executed happily by the death of the Tyrant.

Q. Are not many of the above-mentioned Incidents fabulous ?

A. Yes. And they very probably, were invented by the ancient Historians, to create the greater reverence for the City of *Rome* ; particularly, that circumstance which relates to the miraculous preservation of its Founders.

B O O K I. Chap. II.

The Building of the CITY. (ANN. MUN. 3251.)

Q. F ROM whom was *Rome* called ?

A. From *Romulus*. He and his brother *Remus* had no sooner restored their Grand-father *Numitor* to his Throne, but they were desirous of procuring one for themselves ; *Alba* being become distasteful to them, because they could not govern it. Taking therefore their Foster-father with them, and as many People as they could assemble, they began to lay the foundation of a new Town, on the very spot where they had passed their infant years.

Q. How came *Romulus* to name the City ?

A. The two Brothers having agreed, that he who saw the most favourable Augury (taken from the Flight of Birds) should build the City on his Hill ; *Remus* went on the *Aventine* Hill, where he saw six Vultures ; a little after which *Romulus* ascended the *Palatine* Hill, and there saw, or pretended to see, twelve Vultures ; whereupon he caused the Circumference of the City to be traced round the same Mountain. *Rome* was supposed to be founded the Eleventh of the Kalends of *May* (*April 21*) 431 Years after the destruction of *Troy*, and 752 before Christ. This Spot which was watered by a fine River, and so advantageously situated for Commerce ; in Favour of which Heaven had such vast Designs in Store ; and which was to extend its Empire over the whole known World, was at that Time, a frightful Desert, where was seen an almost inaccessible high Forest, and some Pasture Grounds in the Neighbourhood of it.

Q. What happened after this ?

A. *Romulus*, now 18 Years of Age, had scarce traced this Plan, but, desirous of reigning alone, he waters it with his Brother's blood. The Charnis of sovereign Power dazzle his Eyes, and prompt him to dissolve the sacred Band of fraternal Tenderness. Are we then to wonder that this City, thus founded in the midst of Discord, should afterwards have annoyed the whole Uni-

verse ; that it should have carried the Horrors of War into all Countries ; should have sacrificed the Liberties of every Nation to its Ambition ; and, at last, having nothing left to conquer, that it should turn its Arms inward, and labour at its own Destruction ?

Q. What are we told particularly concerning *Remus's Death* ?

A. That happening to rjdicule the Smallness of the Ditch which *Romulus* had caused to be made, and leaping over it, he was killed by one of the Workmen, (or by one *Celer*, a Tribune) who, with a Rake, beat out his Brains. Others say, That *Romulus* himself perpetrated this horrid Deed.

Q. Did not *Romulus* endeavour to make some Atonement for this Fratricide ?

A. A Pestilence breaking out after the Murder of *Remus*, the Oracle was consulted, which gave this Answer, " That they must appease the *Manes* of *Remus*," which *Romulus* accordingly attempted to do. The City of *Rome* contained at first about a Thousand Houses, was near a Mile in Compass, and had a small Territory belonging to it, about 7 or 8 Miles in Length.

B O O K I. Chap. III.

The REGAL STATE. Containing the Space of 245 Years.

ROMULUS, I. King of the ROMANS. Containing 37 Years. (ANN. ROM.-I.)

Q. **I**N what manner did *Romulus* obtain the Throne ?
A. After the Death of *Remus* he was recognized King by all his Followers.

Q. What methods did *Romulus* take to people his City ?
A. He opened a public *Asylum* in a little Wood, standing near the *Tarpeian Fortress*. In this Sanctuary, Criminals of all kinds were permitted to fly for Refuge, by which means it was soon filled ; and *Romulus* intermixed these new Comers with the inconsiderable Number of Men he had brought with him.

Q. What

Q. What was his next Care?

A. Perceiving that he had very few female Subjects; and all the Nations round refusing to let their Women reside in his Dominions, whereby *Rome* was in Danger of expiring with its first Inhabitants, he had Recourse to a Stratagem. He invited all the neighbouring Nations to certain Games called * *Consualia*, which were to be solemnized in Honour of *Neptune*. But whilst the *Sabine* Virgins were fixed attentively on the Sight, *Romulus* gave the Signal, when immediately the *Romans* carried off 683 Virgins, and afterwards married them.

Q. Did not this Action engage him in several Wars?

A. The *Ceninensians*, the *Antemnates*, and *Cistrumnians*, were the first who drew the Sword against him, and were defeated in several Engagements, *Romulus* slew in Battle, with his own Hand, *Acron* their King, after which he set out for *Rome*, followed by his Army; himself cloathed with the Spoils of this Monarch, and crowned with Laurels, entered that City; when halting on Mount *Capitolinus*, he hung those Spoils on an Oak, which he dedicated to *Jupiter Feretrius* †. Thus this Manner of honouring victorious Generals, which *Romans* afterwards carried to so exalted a Pitch of Magnificence, owed its first Institution to *Romulus*.

Q. Was this the only War in which *Romulus* was engaged?

A. The *Sabines* marched afterwards to *Rome*, and possessed themselves of Mount *Capitolinus* by the Treachery of *Tarpeia*, whose Father had the Custody of it, and from whom that Mountain was afterwards called. *Tarpeia* had delivered up the Capitol, upon Condition that the *Sabines* should give her the golden Bracelets which they wore on their Arms; but, instead of performing their Agreement, they crushed her to Death under their Shields, and cut the Garrison to Pieces. The *Sabines* were just going to Storm the City; and *Romulus*

* Vide the Pantheon under the Article *Neptune*, where these Games are explained.

† So called à ferendo, to bear, or rather from ferire, to strike.

being no longer able to sustain the Vigour of their Attacks, was imploring the Assistance of *Jupiter*, (he vowing to build a Temple in his Honour) when the *Sabine Women*, who were married to the *Romans*, (by the Advice of *Herilia*, Wife of *Romulus*) appeared in the midst of the two Armies, in deep Mourning, their Hair dishevelled, and their Eyes bathed in Tears; fondly clasping their young Infants the dearest Pledge of their alliance.

Q. Was not this productive of very happy Effects?

A. At this tender Spectacle both sides threw down their Arms; and it produced an Alliance, by which the two Nations were incorporated, and formed but one. The *Sabines* came and inhabited *Rome*, which was made the Capital of the united Kingdoms; and *Tatius* sharing the supreme Authority with *Romulus*, was killed, after having swayed the Sceptre six Years in Conjunction with that Monarch.

Q. Was *Romulus* engaged in no other Wars?

A. Yes, against the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, over whom he was always victorious.

Q. What did this Monarch immediately after he had built his little City?

A. He divided the People into three Parts, which were called *Tribes*; and each *Tribe* into ten *Curiæ*. The latter were like our Parishes, and the former like our wards. The *Curiæ* were likewise subdivided into ten *Decuriæ*. For many Years the People gave their Votes singly, according to the *Curiæ*; and the Majority of these were reckoned the Resolution of the whole Assembly, which was called *Comitia Curiata*.

Q. What other Distinctions did *Romulus* make?

A. He divided his Subjects, according to their Honour and Dignity, into *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. The former were to take care of religious Rites, to bear Offices, administer Justice, and assist the King in his Government; the latter to plough the Fields, feed Cattle, and follow Trades. The *Patricians* were *Patrons* to the *Plebeians*, whose Suits it was their duty to manage; and to take care of them as their own Children. The *Plebeians*, who, on this Occasion, were called *Clients*, were

were to assist their *Patrons* with Money on many Occasions ; to ransom them or their Sons if taken Prisoners, &c. *Romulus* chose out of the *Patricians* 100 Men (to whom he afterwards added another 100) to assist him in the Administration ; and this Number he called a *Senate*, and the Members of it *Patres Conscripti*. The *Legions* (so called *ab eligendo*, because they were select Men) which before were composed of 3000 Men, were, by this King, increased to 4000 ; but they afterwards consisted of an indefinite Number. He also appointed, once in nine Days, a Market, which from thence was called *Nundinae*.

Q. Did not *Romulus* settle the Authority of King, Senate, and People ?

A. Yes. And he afterwards appointed 300 young Men to guard his Person, and called them *Celeres* from their Swiftness. Besides these, he had for his Attendants 12 *Lictors* or *Sergeants*, who punished Offenders, and executed his Commands. In this manner *Romulus* settled the State with the utmost Industry and Prudence.

Q. In what manner did this Monarch come to his End ?

A. Towards the close of his Reign, he began to grow very arbitrary, which drew upon him the hatred of the Senate. 'Twas thought, that the Senators assassinated him, to free themselves from his tyrannical Sway ; and that each of them carried off a Piece of his Body under his Robe. Some Days after his Death, *Junius Proculus*, one of the principal among the Nobility, swore solemnly, that *Romulus* appeared to him the Night before, and had declared, that he would be worshipped under the Name of *Quirinus*. Upon this, a Temple was built in Honour of that Monarch on one of the seven Hills, which, from thence, was called *Quirinalis*.

NUMA POMPILIUS, II. King of Rome.

Including (with the Interregnum) 44 Years.

(ANN. ROM. 38.)

Q. **T**O what did *Numa Pompilius* owe his Accession?

A. To his Virtue and Merit, which were greatly renowned in all the Neighbourhood of *Cures*, a City of the *Sabines*.

Q. Were not the Citizens very much divided in the Choice of a Monarch?

A. Yes. But to prevent these Discords from occasioning Anarchy and Confusion in the State, the Senate divided themselves into Decuries, or Tens, and agreed that the Decury which was chosen by Lot, should exercise the regal Dignity for 50 Days, each Man governing in his turn five Days; the Authority then devolved to another Decury, and this was called *Interregnum*. But the People, a Year after, growing weary of this kind of Government, resolved to elect a King.

Q. Did not this give occasion to great Contentions between the *Romans* and *Sabines*?

A. Yes. And it falling, at last, to the *Romans* to chuse, the *Patricians* made choice of *Numa Pompilius*, a *Sabine*, about 40 Years of Age, who was elected King by the consent of the People.

Q. What Answer did *Numa* make the Embassadors who came to offer him the Kingdom?

A. He said, That as every change of Life is hazardous, it would not be prudent in him to leave the retirement and happy tranquillity he then enjoyed. That the fatal End, which *Romulus* met with, made him afraid of accepting the Kingdom. That his peaceful disposition being so opposite and repugnant to the martial temper of the *Romans*, he consequently was no ways qualified to reign over them.

Q. What reply was made to *Numa*?

A. That

A. That the Gods, in bestowing such exalted Talents upon him, did not intend that he should bury them in Obscurity. That the Memory of *Romulus* was had in the highest veneration by the *Romans*, who now, satiated perhaps with Conquests, might be extremely desirous of being governed by a just and religious Prince.

Q. Did these Reasons prevail?

A. They did. And so universal was they Joy at *Rome*, that the Inhabitants of it seemed not so much to receive a King, as the Addition of a new Kingdom.

Q. What did *Numa*, immediately upon his coming to the Throne?

A. He disbanded the royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, saying, he would not reign over a People, of whom he had reason to be ever so little diffident.

Q. What did he next?

A. He built a Temple in honour of *Janus*, which was always to stand open in time of War, and to be shut in time of Peace, as it was during his whole Reign; a Circumstance that never happened but four times, from this Period to the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*. *Numa* also built a Temple to *Faith*, from a Persuasion that it would not be possible for Men to live happily, unless that Virtue prevailed among them.

Q. Did he not make several Regulations in religious Matters?

A. He is said to have established the *Pontifices*, whereof he himself was the Principal. He also instituted the *Vestal Virgins*, being four in Number, and bestowed very great Privileges upon them; particularly, that of delivering a Malefactor from Death whenever they should meet with one going to Execution, upon their making Oath that the Meeting was accidental. These *Vestals* were chosen about the Age of four or five Years, from amongst the noblest Families in *Rome*, to be Priestesses of the Goddess *Vesta*, in whose honour *Numa* also built a Temple, where these *Vestals* resided; whose Employment was, to superintend the Holy Fire, which was for ever burning on an Altar, and was a Symbol, or Character, of the

Deity

Deity they worshipped. This Fire, if kept in, was to be a perpetual Pledge of the Duration of their City, as was also the *Palladium* and *Ancile*.

Q. In what manner were such *Vestals* punished, as let the sacred Fire go out?

A. They were buried alive, and treated with the same Rigour as those who violated their Chastity, to preserve which they were bound by a Vow.

Q. Did he not make several other Regulations?

A. He instituted the *Salii* and *Feciales*, Priests devoted to *Mars*; the former of whom were to carry the sacred Bucklers, called *Ancilia*; and the latter to judge concerning the Equity of War, and also to proclaim it. These things they were allowed to do, independently from the Senate and People, who could not transact any thing without them; and even the King himself was obliged to acquiesce with their Remonstrances.

Q. Did not *Numa* employ a religious artifice, to gain the greater credit and obedience to his Institutions?

A. He pretended that he had a frequent and immediate Converse with the Goddess *Egeria*; and would often declare, that strange visions and apparitions were seen, and prophetic voices heard; all which fictions wrought remarkable effects on the *Romans*, who were naturally very superstitious.

Q. Was not his Religion of a refined nature?

A. Yes; and very much like that of *Pythagoras* afterwards: *Numa* forbidding his Subjects to use the image of any Deity, representing it under an human shape, or that of any other living creature.

Q. What improvements did he make with regard to the Government and Laws?

A. He encouraged Agriculture; divided the lands into several partitions, called *Pagi*, or Burroughs: And, to take away all distinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, which threatened the State with everlasting feuds and divisions, he divided all the Inhabitants according to their several Trades and Occupations, making every Trade, &c. a particular *Company*. He very much abated the rigour of the Law enacted by *Romulus*, relating to the power of Fathers

Fathers over their Children ; and also prescribed some Rules concerning Mourning and Widows.

Q. What other remarkable things were done by this King ?

A. He reformed the Year, which, in *Romulus's* time, was very much out of order. *Numa* finding the solar Year to exceed the lunar by 11 days, doubled these 11 days ; and, every other Year inserted a Month after *February*, consisting of 22 days. He also changed the order of the Months, making *January* (in honour of *Janus*) the first, and *February* (in honour of *Februus* the God of Expiations) the second, which in *Romulus's* time, were the two last. *February* was spent in purifying the City, and honouring the memory of the Dead.

Q. Was not *Numa's* peaceful administration of advantage to his People ?

A. It contributed very much to the strength and security of the City, and polished the rough genius of the Romans.

Q. To whom was *Numa Pompilius* married ?

A. To *Tatia*, King *Tatius*'s Daughter, by whom he had one Daughter, called *Pompilia*. Some say, that *Tatia* brought him likewise four Sons, *Pomponius*, *Pinus*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*, from whom sprung four illustrious Families in *Rome*.

Q. How long did *Numa* reign ?

A. Forty-three Years. He died of a Sickness at four-score Years of age, and was buried with great solemnity. He would not suffer his Body to be burnt, as was the custom in those days, but was laid in a stone coffin ; and the Books of his Ceremonies were deposited by him in another. These Books were taken up about 400 Years after, and burnt by order of the Senate, it being thought impious to reveal to the Vulgar the secrets they contained.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS, III. King of Rome.

Containing 33 Years.

(ANN. ROM. 82.)

Q. WHO succeeded *Numa* ?

A. Tullus Hostilius. Upon the Death of *Numa*, the Government again devolved upon the Senate. *Martius*, Father of the *Martius* who had married *Pompilia*, exerted himself to the utmost to obtain the Throne, after the Death of *Numa*: But the *Romans* tired of a long peace, which had thrown them into a kind of Letthargy, unanimously preferred to him *Tullus Hostilius*, Grandson of the *Hostilius* who was killed in attempting to retake the Capitol in *Romulus's* Time. He was of a bold, intrepid temper, and often sought for and eagerly embraced all opportunities of engaging in a War; prompted to it by his natural inclination, and by the fame and glory of his Grandfather.

Q. What did he immediately upon his Accession ?

A. He endeavoured to win the Hearts of the *Romans* by his extraordinary Liberality; he gave the People all the Crown-Lands, contenting himself with the Revenues of his Patrimony for his own subsistence, and for the expence of the Sacrifices which the Kings were obliged to defray. He soon restored the *Romans*, by the exercise of Arms, to their pristine vigour, and taught them the art of fighting regularly.

Q. What Wars was he engaged in ?

A. He took up Arms against the *Albans*, who were the Aggressors on this occasion; for, *Cluilius*, the Governor and Dictator of *Alba*, envying the growth of *Rome*, made depredations in the Roman Territories. This occasioning a War between the *Romans* and *Albans*, both Armies met at about five Miles from *Rome*; but as they were going to engage, *Cluilius* was found dead in his Tent. In his stead was chosen *Metius Suffetius*, a Man whose only recommendation was his turbulent spirit, and his being as great an incendiary as his Predecessor. Both

parties

parties being, at last, desirous of sparing the effusion of blood, they came to a resolution, that the War should be decided by a Combat of three Persons on each side: Accordingly there were chosen, on the side of the *Romans*, three Brothers called the *Horatii*; and, from among the *Albans* the like number, called the *Curiatii*. The latter were to fight for *Alba*, and the former for *Rome*. This Combat was to be decisive, and the vanquished party was to submit to the other.

Q. What was the issue of it?

A. The three *Curiatii*, were, at first, wounded, and two of the *Horatii* killed. There now remaining but one, and he, fearing that it would be impossible for him, singly, to vanquish three enemies, pretended to fly; and having thus separated the three Brothers, who pursued him as fast as their Wounds would permit, he, by this artifice, killed them all one after the other.

Q. Did he not fully the glory of this Action?

A. In his return to *Rome* he met his Sister, who, perceiving among the spoils he carried, those of one of the *Curiatii* her Lover, she could not forbear bursting into tears; when reproaching him in the sharpest terms, for imbruining his hands in the Blood of his Cousin-german, (the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* being Sister's children) he immediately killed her; looking upon this sorrow as a crime, as though she had wept at the Prosperity of her Country. *Tullus* would not judge the Murtherer himself, but appointed two Magistrates called *Duum-viri*, for that purpose, who sentenced the Murtherer to die.

Q. What were these *Duum-viri*?

A. They were Judges in criminal matters; but an appeal lay from their sentence to the People, who, only, were empowered to condemn a Citizen to death. These, at the request of his Father, gave the Murtherer his life, the former esteeming it as a glorious and heroic Act; and accordingly gave his Daughter ignominious burial, as a dreadful example to all who should prefer private regard to public utility.

Q. Did not *Tullus Hostilius* vanquish the *Venientes* and *Fidenates*?

A. Metius

A. *Metius Suffetius*, General of the *Albans*, perceiving that they were offended at him, for having hazarded the liberty of his Country on the combat of three Men, and for not carrying on the War after the defeat, stirred up the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* against *Rome*; hoping to atone for his fault, by abandoning the *Romans*, whom he, by a Treaty, had engaged to assist. *Tullus* accordingly reinforced his Army with that of *Suffetius*, but the latter, instead of succouring him, withdrew to a hill, and there waited the issue of the Battle.

Q. What did *Tullus* on this occasion ?

A. He immediately spread a rumour, that *Suffetius* was withdrawn by his order, and that the whole was a stratagem to surprise the Enemy. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes* were quite disheartened, upon the supposition of the infidelity of their friends, and thereupon were soon routed by the *Romans*. On the morrow, *Tullus* caused *Suffetius* to be seized, as he came to congratulate him on his victory : When assembling the whole Body of the *Albans*, and laying before them the treacherous practices and ungenerous designs of *Suffetius*, he had him torn to pieces by Horses, having first caused the City of *Alba* to be razed to the ground, (after it had flourished 487 years) and transplanted the Inhabitants to *Rome*.

Q. Did not *Tullus Hostilius* enlarge the City ?

A. He took into it Mount *Cælius*, on which he built a Palace. This part of *Rome* was appointed for the residence of the People who were brought from *Alba*, and the King granted all of them the *Roman* privileges. He incorporated the *Alban* Nobility with the Senate ; and, after having intirely reduced the *Fidenates*, he declared War against the *Sabines*, who had plundered several of the *Romans* that traded with them. *Tullus* defeated intirely the *Sabines*, and forced them to sue for Peace.

Q. Was he not engaged in War with the *Latines* ?

A. These refusing to pay obedience to the *Romans*, several Contests ensued. This War, which was carried on with great moderation, lasted most of the remainder of *Tullus Hostilius*'s Reign ; about which time *Rome* was greatly infested with plagues and famines, and very much terrified

terrified by prodigies. The King now resolved to bring in the religious Ceremonies of *Numa*, which he, till then, had very little regarded.

Q. Did he not die soon after ?

A. Yes : Some say, by Lightning, with his whole Family, though probably by some treasonable Practices. This King had re-assumed the royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*.

ANCUS MARCIUS, IV. King of Rome.

Containing 24 Years.

(ANN. ROM. 115.)

Q. WAS there not again an *Interregnum* after the Demise of *Tullus Hostilius* ?

A. Yes : But *Ancus Marcius* was soon chosen King by the *Inter-rex* and the Senate, and confirmed by the People.

Q. From whom was he descended ?

A. He was Grandson to *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of *Rome*, by *Pompilia* his Daughter, and *Marcius* his Kinsman.

Q. What was the Disposition of this Prince ?

A. It resembled that of his Grandfather *Numa* ; and accordingly he used his utmost endeavours to revive the Religion and Ceremonies practised in *Numa's* days.

Q. Was he not contemned by the *Latines*, as being an indolent Prince ?

A. Yes : And they made incursions into his Territories. But *Ancus*, after causing War to be solemnly proclaimed, by the *Feciales*, or *Heralds*, (according to the Ceremonies appointed by *Numa Pompilius*) marched out against them ; took *Politorium*, one of their Towns, and transplanted the inhabitants of it to *Rome*. He afterwards won some others ; and notwithstanding the great preparations they made, he, at last, forced them to sue for Peace, and obtained a Triumph over them. He also overthrew the *Fidenates*, the *Veientes*, the *Volsces*, and the *Sabines*.

Q. Did

Q. Did not *Ancus* perform several great Actions within his own Kingdom as well as abroad ?

A. He rebuilt the Temple of *Jupiter Fereitrius* after a more magnificent manner. He fortified the Hill *Fanicolum*, and united it to the City, by throwing a wooden Bridge over the *Tiber*. He inclosed the *Aventine* Hills with walls, and peopled it with the Nations whom he had subdued. He made a broad and strong Ditch, called *Fosca Quiritium*; and, the City being greatly increased, he built a large Prison for Malefactors in the Center of it. *Ancus* extended his Dominions as far as the Sea; and for the conveniency of Commerce, built a Town called *Ostia*, at the mouth of the river *Tiber*, and about ten miles from *Rome*, and peopled it with a Colony transplanted from the last mentioned City.

Q. In what manner did *Ancus* spend the latter part of his Reign ?

A. In enriching his Subjects, and improving the City. *Ancus*, after reigning twenty-four Years, died; leaving behind him two Sons, both under Age, whom he committed to the Guardianship of *Lucius Tarquinius*.

Q. Who was he ?

A. He was an *Hetrurian*; formerly called *Lucumon*, and son to *Davaratus*, a rich Merchant of *Corinth*. *Lucumon*, being invited to *Rome* by the advantageous offers which *Ancus Marcius* made to all Foreigners, came, with his wife *Tanaquil* and several Followers, and settled in that City. *Lucumon* changed his name for that of *Lucius Tarquinius*, (from *Tarquinia* his native Town) and was treated honourably by *Ancus*, to whom he generously offered his whole Patrimony for the public Utility; and by that means himself and his followers were allowed their Freedom, with Lands both for building and sustenance. *Lucius Tarquinius* was chosen soon after into the Senate, *Ancus* (about the ninth Year of his Reign) appointed him General of the *Roman* Horse, and employed him in all his Wars.

Q. Was not *Tanaquil* a very ambitious Woman ?

A. *Lucumon*, her Husband, though so exceedingly wealthy, being contemned by the Citizens of *Tarquinia*, she was very much exasperated at it, and thereupon persuaded

suaded him to leave *Tarquinia*, and to go and settle in *Rome*. He complied with her Advice, and accordingly they set out for that City.

Q. Are we not told of a prodigy that happened in their journey?

A. Yes; but it has all the air of a Fiction; *Lucumon* and *Tanaquil* were scarce arrived at the *Janiculum*, but an Eagle alighted on their Chariot, and carried off *Lucumon's* Bonnet. After flying several times over them, and making a great noise, it again returned, and gently fixed the Bonnet on his head. *Tanaquil*, who was feated by her Husband, embraced him in token of Joy; and being very well versed in the art of Divination, she explained to him the several circumstances of this Omen, and assured him, that he would rise to the utmost exalted fortune.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, V. King of Rome.

Containing 38 Years.

(ANN. ROM. 138.)

Q. **W**HY is the King called *Tarquinius Priscus*, or the Ancient?

A. To distinguish him from *Tarquinius Superbus*, the last King of *Rome*.

Q. What happened after the Death of *Ancus*?

A. The Senate being impowered by the People, created *Inter-reges* as formerly. *Tarquin* was solicitous to get the Kingdom for himself; and therefore, to remove all Obstacles, he sent *Ancus*'s two Sons a hunting; when, assembling the People, he made a specious harangue to them, in which he observed, "That he was so great a Friend to *Rome*, that he had bestowed all his wealth upon it; and could not but be perfectly well acquainted with the *Roman* Government, as he had spent so many years in the exercise of Civil, as well as military Affairs, under their Monarch." By this means he obtained the Kingdom, he being the first who procured it by ambitious methods.

Q. What

Q. What actions did he perform after his accession?

A. He vanquished the *Latines*, forced them to sue for peace, and then turned his arms against the *Sabines*, who had risen up against *Rome*. Both armies met at the river *Anio*, where the *Romans* by burning the bridge, which the *Sabines* had laid over it, defeated them. *Tarquin* then marched into the *Sabine Territories*, and again vanquished them. 'Twas over this People that he obtained a Triumph. *He* was not the first (as the Reader may remember) who triumphed in *Rome*; but he first had the honours of the grand Triumph, the magnificence of which he instituted.

Q. In what manner did he enlarge the Senate?

A. The better to insinuate himself into the affections of the common People, he chose, from among the *Plebeians*, an hundred, who were most renowned for their wisdom and valour, and added them to the Senate, which now consisted of 300. Those created by *Romulus* were called *Patres Conscripti*, and these, *Patres minorum gentium*, or Senators of a lower rank. He ordered the Senatorial Chairs to be made of Ivory; and regulated the Habits of the *Roman Knights*, in order to distinguish them from other classes of Soldiers. 'Tis said, that *Tarquinius Priscus* had a Son, who, at thirteen years of age, signalized himself in a Battle, by killing one of the Enemy; that his Father rewarded him with a long embroidered Robe, bordered with purple, called *Prætexta*, and with a Piece of Gold, named *Bulla*, made in the shape of a Heart, to hang on his neck; ever since which, the Children of the Quality at *Rome* wore this Habit, to distinguish them from those of the *Plebeians*.

Q. What was his success against the *Hetrurians*?

A. They all combined against him, because of his detaining some Prisoners whom he had taken among the *Sabines*. However, they afterwards were very submissive; acknowledged him for their Sovereign; and, in token of their allegiance, sent him all the *Insignia* of Royalty used by their Princes, viz. a golden Crown, an ivory Chair, a Scepter, on the top of which was an Eagle, a purple Coat worked with gold, and a purple Robe pinked. From *Hetruria* also came the Robes and Coats

Coats worn by the Augurs and Heralds, and many other Ornaments that were afterwards used in *Rome*. To gain the Affection of the Magistrates, he caused to be carried before them bundles of Rods tied, in the middle of which an Ax was raised, as denoting the Power they had to punish Malefactors. The *Sabines* opposed the *Roman* power, but submitting afterwards, *Tarquin* received them on the same conditions with the *Hetrurians*.

Q. What Works were erected by *Tarquin* in *Rome* ?

A. He built a strong stone Wall round the City ; adorned the *Forum* with lofty Portico's, Galleries and Shops, made many *Cloacæ*, or common sewers, to drain the City, and carry the filth of it into the *Tiber* ; a work that was immensely chargeable and laborious. In the *Circus Maximus*, where games were exhibited, he caused Seats to be raised for the Spectators, who were there distinguished according to their Rank and Dignity. *Tarquin* is said to have first instituted the famous *Roman* Games, and to have built the *Circus*. He had levelled with prodigious cost, the Rock on the *Capitoline*, in order to build there a Temple to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, after his Conquests over the *Sabines*, but did not live to go on with it ; and this was the beginning of the *Capitol*.

Q. Are we not told of a very famous Augur in the Reign of this Monarch ?

A. This was *Nævius*. 'Tis related, that *Tarquin*, to try him, asked, " if what he thought in his mind " was possible to be done ?" *Nævius* answering in the affirmative, the King said jestingly, " that he was " thinking, whether he could cut a Whetstone with a " Razor :" Upon this, the Augur bidding him strike hard, he accordingly cut it—This, very probably, was a Trick contrived between *Tarquin* and *Nævius*, to raise the credit of Augury, which it did to a prodigious degree.

Q. Was not *Tarquin* murthered ?

A. Yes ; by the machinations of the two Sons of *An-cus Marcius*. These enraged to see *Tarquin* possess'd of the Kingdom, disguised several of their Companions like Shepherds, who going to Court, pretended a Quarrel and demanded justice of the King. *Tarquin* appearing,

appearing, they slew him, and fled ; but being apprehended soon after, were brought to condign punishment. *Tarquin* fell in the 38th year of his Reign. He had very much enlarged the *Roman* Dominions, and greatly heightened the splendor of his People.

S E R V I U S T U L L I U S , VI. King of Rome. Containing 44 Years.

(A N N . R O M . 176.)

Q. WHOSE Son was *Servius Tullius* ?

A. Of *Tullius*, surnamed *Corniculanus*, who lost his life in defending the Principality of *Corniculum*, a City of *Latium*, which *Tarquin* the Elder burnt. His Mother was called *Ocrisia*, Widow of that Prince of *Corniculum*. 'Tis related, that this Lady was big with child when her Husband died ; and, that having been discovered among the Prisoners, a great regard was paid to her Quality ; that *Tanaquil* freed *Ocrisia* from her Captivity, and gave her an Apartment in her Palace, where she was delivered of a Son. *Tullius* was surnamed *Servius*, in remembrance of his Mother's Bondage. Some Historians suppose, that *Ocrisia* lived some time as a Slave, in *Tanaquil*'s Palace, before she was restored to her Liberty.

Q. Are we not told of some Prodigy that happen'd at the Birth of *Servius Tullius* ?

A. 'Tis said, that being an infant in his Cradle, a flame of Fire encompassed his Head, without doing him the least injury : Upon which, *Tullia*, who was very well skilled in Presages, took *Tarquin* aside and assured him that this Child would one Day support the royal Family in their adversity, and therefore, that the utmost care ought to be taken of his Education. *Tarquin* followed her Advice ; *Servius Tullius* became a very promising Youth ; and when *Tarquin* grew in years, *Tullius* conducted his affairs both at home and abroad, with so much bravery, wisdom, and integrity, that he won the

the Love of all the People ; insomuch, that no one was judged more worthy of being the King's Son-in-law.

Q. Did Tarquin leave any Children ?

A. He had two Grandsons, both infants ; but Tanaguil being very desirous that her Son-in-law *Servius Tullius* should succeed to the Throne, she concealed her Husband's death, till *Tullius* had prevailed with the People to banish the *Marcii*. This done, *Tullius* carried out *Tarquin*, as newly dead, in order for his being interred ; when Tanaguil and *Tullius* declaring that he was appointed Governor to the young Prince, and Regent of the Kingdom, by the Will of the late Monarch, the *Patricians* suffer'd him, tho' much against their inclinations, to assume the Royal Authority.

Q. What followed upon this ?

A. *Servius Tullius*, to secure the Crown to himself, assembled the People, to whom he represented the lamentable condition to which he was reduced by the contrivances of the *Patricians* : that they intended to murther him and the Posterity of *Tarquin* ; however, that if the People judg'd it proper, he would freely resign all pretensions to the Crown. The People hearing this, immediately cried aloud, that he should be their Monarch ; and the *Comitia Curiata* being assembled, he was elected King, in spite of the opposition made by the Senate, who refused to ratify the Election according to their usual Custom. *Servius Tullius*, to engage the People in his favour, had promised to be extremely beneficent to them.

Q. Did not *Servius Tullius* institute the *Census*, or Survey of the *Roman* Citizens and their Estates ?

A. He did ; and by it every Citizen was obliged to declare upon oath, his Name, that of his Wife, the number and age of his Children, his Freedmen and Slaves, in case he had any ; his Condition, Profession, Employments, Kindred, with the several Goods and Chattels he possessed. This Survey was first made by the Kings, afterwards by the Consuls, and lastly by the Censors. A Survey was taken every five years of the three Orders of the Commonwealth, viz. of the Senate, the Knights, and People. After the survey was ended, a solemn

solemn Lustration, or expiatory Sacrifice, was performed, in the name of the People. On this occasion the Citizens used to meet in the *Campus Martius*, all in armour, each Man in his proper Class and Century. The Sacrifice consisted of a Sow, a Sheep, and a Bull, whence it was called *Suovetaurilia*. The Ceremony of performing it they called *Lustrum condere*; and on this account, the word *Lustrum* came to denote the space of five years. *Tullius* held the *Lustrum* four times in his Reign, and at the first, there appeared to be 84700 free Citizens.

Q. What other remarkable Particulars are told concerning *Servius Tullius*?

A. He very much enlarged the City, taking into it the *Quirinal*, the *Viminal*, and *Esquiline* Hills, and encompassed all the seven Hills with a strong Wall. He divided the City into four parts; and, instead of three Tribes, instituted four. He divided the People, according to their Wealth and Estates, into six Ranks, called *Classis*, which were each divided into *Centuries* (the Word here signifying such a Particular Division, and not 100 Persons) which composed 193 in all. The first *Classes*, containing the *Equites*, or Knights, and richest Citizens, consisted of 98 *Centuries*. The second, including the Tradesmen and Mechanics, made up two and twenty *Centuries*. The third, the same number. The fourth, twenty. The fifth, thirty. And the last, composed of the poorer sort, (Servants and Slaves excepted, who had no Vote in the Government) had but one *Century*. Men and Money were afterwards levied according to these *Centuries*, each *Century* furnishing a certain quantity and Number.

Q. By whom was the *Comitia Centuriata* instituted?

A. By *Servius Tullius*. Till his time Affairs of the highest importance, such as the Creation of Magistrates, the enacting or repealing of Laws, and the decreeing of Peace and War, were all voted in the *Comitia Curiata*, where, as every private Person had an equal Vote, the *Plebeians*, by being the most numerous, were invested, in some measure, with the whole Power and Authority. But *Tullius* assembled the People according to their *Centuries*, which were called *Comitia Centuriata*, where the

the *Plebeians* must necessarily be out-voted ; they having little more than the shadow of Authority, with which they nevertheless were contented for many years, either, because they were not aware of the design ; or rather, because they were thereby freed from the greatest part of the Expences, Troubles, and dangers of the public. *Tullius* divided the whole *Roman Dominion* into 26 parts, which he also called Tribes, and these he distinguished into their several *Pagi*. In his way of judging Controversies, he himself took cognizance of such only as related to the State ; and referred the Decision of Quarrels, relating to particular Persons, to others. This King caused the *Latines* to build a Temple in Honour of *Diana* on the *Aventine Hill*. He was the first who coined Money in *Rome*, impressing on it the Image of a Sheep, whence it was called *Pecunia* ; whereas the *Romans*, before his time, made use of it in a rude lump or mass.

Q. With whom was *Tullius* engaged in War ?

A. With the *Hetrurians*. These refusing to pay him obedience, he waged War with them during 20 years, and at last harassed them so much, that they submitted to him, and he granted them a Peace. After this he built two Temples to *Fortune*. Towards the Close of his Reign, he intended to lay down the Kingly Office, and restore absolute liberty, and was preparing a Plan for that purpose, but was murthered before he had an opportunity of putting it in execution.

Q. How did this happen ?

A. The Son of the Elder *Tarquin* left two Sons (as was before observed) who, probably, were very young when *Servius* ascended the Throne. The first was called *Lucius Tarquinius*, surnamed *Superbus*, and the other *Aruns Tarquinius*. They differed exceedingly in disposition, the former being a very wicked Man, the other a very good one. *Servius Tullius* had two Daughters, both named *Tullia*, who were as unlike in temper as the two *Tarquins*, the elder being gentle and mild, the younger haughty and cruel. The latter was married to the good *Tarquin*, and the former to his wicked Brother. The worthless *Tullia*, being of a restless disposition, promised the wicked *Tarquin* to kill her Husband ;

and he assured her that he would dispatch his Wife. After each had perpetrated the horrid Deed, they married together. And now *Tarquin* was excited by his Wife *Tullia* to claim the Crown which *Servius Tullius* had usurped; and *Tarquin* being very ambitious, he went one day to the Senate house, cloathed in the regal Robes, and with the other *Insignia* of Royalty. *Servius Tullius* hastening thither with only a few Followers, *Lucius Tarquinius* threw him down stairs. *Tullia* hearing of this, went immediately into the *Forum*, in order to congratulate her Husband as King, and advise him to cause her Father to be murdered. In her return she saw her Father's body, weltering in its gore, and lying in the Street; when, her Charioteer, amazed at the sad spectacle, would have turned about; but *Tullia*, without shewing the least concern, ordered him to go on; and was so inhuman as to force him to drive over the body of her ill-fated Father, she crying aloud to the Charioteer, *the way which leads to the Throne cannot be too short.* The Street where this horrid Scene happened, was afterwards called *Scelerata*, or the accursed.

Q. Was not *Servius Tullius* a very good Prince?

A. The only thing that could be objected to him was his unjust Accession to the Throne, when most of the *Patricians* were prompted to espouse the cause of his Successor; especially, since *Servius Tullius* was going to change the Frame of their Government; a circumstance that would have very much weakened, if not have quite ruined their Authority.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, or TARQUIN the Proud, VII. and the Last King of Rome.

Containing 25 Years.

(ANN. ROM. 220.)

Q. **W**HY was this Prince surnamed *Superbus*?

A. On account of his imperious carriage and excessive haughtiness. Having ascended the Throne by murther, he endeavoured to maintain himself in it by Cruelty

Cruelty and Injustice : he putting to death a great number of Senators, who had refused to join in his wicked measures, and seized upon their Estates. He also banished a great many others, upon a suspicion that they did not favour his Interest, and in order to quite extinguish that Body.

Q. Against whom did *Tarquin* make War ?

A. Against the *Sabines*, and triumphed over them. He afterwards laid waste the Territories of the *Volsces*; took *Suevia Pomptia*, and laid siege to *Gabii*, a very considerable City of that People.

Q. Did he not take this City by Treachery ?

A. *Sextus*, *Tarquin's* eldest Son, fled to the *Gabii*, upon pretence of having been inhumanly used by his Father; after which, he, by his artful Conduct, insinuated himself so far into the Affections of the Inhabitants, that they appointed him their Governor. Immediately *Sextus* sent a Messenger to *Tarquin*, to enquire how he should act. His Father sent no Answer; but, taking the Messenger into the Garden, struck off the heads of all such Poppies as out-topped the rest. *Sextus*, at the return of the Messenger, understood *Tarquin's* meaning, and immediately put to death all Persons of the greatest Distinction among the *Gabii*; imprisoned the rest; and, by that means, easily betrayed the City to his Father, who, after this, made a league with the *Æquii*, and renewed that with the *Hetrurians*, or *Tuscans*.

Q. Who built the Capitol ?

A. *Tarquin the Proud*. We before observed, that it had been designed by his Grandfather: As the Workmen were digging to lay a Foundation, a Man's Head, belonging to one *Tolus*, was found fresh bleeding, whence this building was called the Capitol. It was a very grand Edifice, being seated on a high Crag or Rock, and was dedicated principally to *Jupiter*.

Q. Were not the *Sybils* Books offered to this King ?

A. These, being nine in number, were brought by a strange Woman to *Tarquin*, who refusing to buy them at her Price, she went away, and, burning three of them, came back, and asked the same Price for the remaining six. The Courtiers looking upon her as distracted, she

departed again, and burning three more, returned with the rest. The King, surprised at the singularity of the Adventure, immediately advised with the Augurs about it, who blamed him for not purchasing the nine, and earnestly besought him to give her the full price for the remaining three. The Woman received the Money, and after advising him to take the strictest care of them, immediately vanished. These Books were deposited in a stone Chest, and fifteen of the Nobility (called thence *Quindecimviri*) were appointed to look after them. These Oracles were consulted, by order of the Senate, in all times of public Calamity; and were preserved in the Capitol, till that Edifice was consumed by Fire.

Q. Did not Tarquin proclaim War against the *Rutuli*?

A. Upon pretence of their having given refuge to some *Roman Exiles*; but in reality, to replenish his Treasury, which his building of the Capitol had exhausted, he marched and invested *Ardea*, their Metropolis, a City of greater antiquity than *Rome*. Whilst he was encamped before *Ardea*, *Sextus*, who was as lewd and cruel as his Father, fell distractedly in love with *Lucretia*, Wife to *Tarquinius Collatinus*, and Daughter of *Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus*, a very illustrious Citizen of *Rome*. *Collatinus* was so called from the City of *Collatia*, where he usually resided, and was Son of *Egerius*, not Brother to *Tarquin the Ancient*, as many have supposed, but his Brother's Son.

Q. Was not this Passion of *Sextus* attended with very fatal consequences?

A. *Collatinus* carried *Sextus* and others to his house at *Collatia*, in order to give them a sight of *Lucretia*, and the next day returned with them to the Camp. But *Sextus*, now enflamed with *Lucretia's* beauty, went privately to *Collatia*, where he was entertained very hospitably by that Lady, and lodged in her House. In the dead of night, he found means to convey himself into her Bed-chamber, when drawing near to her bed-side with his drawn sword, and thrusting his hand into her breast, swore he would kill her that instant, if she made the least noise. The unhappy *Lucretia* frightened out of

her peaceful slumbers, and seeing imminent Death, was seized, as may be supposed, with the utmost Confusion and Terror. *Sextus*, at first had recourse to intreaties, but these not availing, he declared, " that if she would not comply, he would first murder her, and then lay his own Slave dead by her side, and afterwards spread a report, that he had killed them both in the act of Adultery." The ill-fated *Lucretia*, terrified at these menaces, yielded to his impure wishes, and *Sextus* left her the next morning.

Q. What ensued upon this?

A. *Lucretia*, shocked to the soul at this barbarous Treatment, sent for her Father and her Husband, with whom came *Publius Valerius* and *Junius Brutus*. These found her in a despairing condition and drowned in tears; when she related the whole story; and rejecting all thoughts of consolation, conjured them to revenge her cause; immediately after which she stabbed herself to the heart, as the strongest proof she could give of her chastity. A Roman * Poet observes, that *Lucretia*, in breathing her last, took care not to fall in an indecent posture.

Q. Had not this *Junius Brutus*, feigned himself mad?

A. *Marcus Junius* his Father, had been murdered by *Tarquin* the Proud, in order that he might seize upon his Estate. *Junius Brutus* to save his life, counterfeited stupidity, and was thence called *Brutus*. *Tarquin* thinking him really an Idiot, kept him in his house, where he used to be sport for his Children. It happened in the time of dreadful Pestilence, that *Tarquin* sent his two Sons *Sextus* and *Titus*, to consult the Oracle, with *Brutus* to divert them. There the Sons laughed heartily to see him offer a wooden staff, in which he had secretly conveyed Gold to *Apollo*. The young Princes afterwards asked the Oracle, *Which of them should be King of Rome?* The Answer was, *He who should first kiss his Mother*, which the Sons agreed to do at their return, and so reign jointly. But *Brutus*, who knew the meaning of the Oracle, the moment he was arrived

in

in Italy, pretended to fall down by chance, and kissed the Earth the common Parent of Mankind. After this *Brutus* took all opportunities, but in the most secret manner, of ruining the Tyrant.

Q. To return to the unhappy *Lucretia*, what followed after her Death ?

A. As the whole Company were struck with amazement, *Brutus* threw off his disguise, when running to the dead Body, and drawing out the murthering instrument, he swore by the celestial Powers, utterly to extirpate *Tarquin* and his whole Family ; upon which they all took an oath to extinguish Kingly Government. *Brutus* then assembled his Friends ; and after several Forms of Government had been proposed, he advised them to change the Kingly one to a Commonwealth. *Brutus*'s proposal being approved by the Senate, they immediately issued a Decree, to banish the *Tarquinii* and all their offspring. *Brutus* afterwards causing the bloody Corpse of *Lucretia* to be brought before the People ; he enumerated the several Crimes which *Tarquin* had perpetrated, particularly, that he had poisoned his own Brother, strangled his Wife, murdered his lawful Sovereign, and filled the ditches and common sewers with the bodies of the Nobility. These words were no sooner ended, but the People immediately called for Arms. An *Interrex* being appointed, they nominated *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to exercise the regal Power : And, that the title of King might not be quite extinct, it was ordered to be bestowed on some Person, who should be called *Rex Sacrorum*, and who, enjoying this honour only for Life, and being privileged from warfare, should concern himself only with those religious Rites, which the King had superintended. *Tarquin* now advanced in all haste towards the City, but was refused admittance ; upon which he rode back towards the Camp, where *Brutus* had been before, and prevailed with the Army to revolt.

Q. Whither did *Tarquin* and his Family retire ?

A. To the *Gabii*, or to the *Hetrurians*, after having reigned 25 years.

Q. How many Sons had *Tarquin* ?

A. Three,

A. Three, *Sextus, Titus, and Aruns.*

Q. Was not the regal State of *Rome* called the Infancy of it?

A. Yes: And from what has been related, it is evident that the Kings had contributed very little to its grandeur, since, at the end of 245 years, its Dominion extended scarce above fifteen miles round the walls. However, the City itself was very much increased in extent, in number of inhabitants, and in the magnificence of its structures. Perhaps the circumstance that checked its progress, was the different Genius of its Monarchs. A *Roman Historian* * observes, that this State stood in need of the various and singular talents for which each of these Kings were remarkable; and that the different turn and character of their Minds, as well as their different Institutions, were all of use. According to the same Writer, even the tyranny of *Tarquin* was of great advantage to the *Romans*, since it gave occasion to the Establishment of the Commonwealth. But an ingenious † Modern is of a different opinion, he saying, that this disparity of Genius in the Kings of *Rome*, was so far from procuring any advantage to the *Romans*, that their little increase under the regal State, can be ascribed to no other cause.

Q. What circumstance contributed chiefly to raise the *Romans* to the Sovereignty of the World?

A. Their laying aside their own customs as soon as they met with better among the People they conquered; and it is well known, that they fought successively against most Nations.

Q. Is not an ingenious modern † Writer of opinion, that the death of *Lucretia* did no more than occasion, accidentally, the Revolution which happened?

A. Yes: And he observes farther, that a haughty, enterprising People, confined within Walls, must either shake off the yoke, or soften the asperity of their manners.

Q. What

* *Florus.*

† *Mr. De St. Evremont.*

‡ See the *Reflections on the causes of the grandeur and declension of the Romans*, p. 4 and 5.

Q. What was the *Aera* of the Subversion of the Kingly Government in *Rome*?

A. The year of the World 3596; 245 years from the building of the City; the 1st year from the 68th Olympiad; 31 years after the ruin of the Babylonian Empire and the setting up of the *Persian*; 179 before the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire, and 507 before our Saviour.

Q. What was the state of other Countries at this time?

A. *Italy*, as may have been observed in the course of this History, was divided into many petty Nations. *Gaul*, whose inhabitants were as unpolished, and at the same time as warlike as the *Romans*, was also divided into a great number of petty States. *Spain* and *Germany* were much in the same condition, and *Britain*, *Illyricum*, and *Dacia*, not much better. *Greece* flourished exceedingly, being governed by many renowned Monarchs and potent *Republics*. *Asia Minor* was very near in the same condition, and at that time subject to the *Persian* Empire. *Armenia* was a Monarchy of some figure, *Syria*, *Chaldaea*, *Affyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, were all powerful States, but subject successively, to the *Persian* and *Macedonian* Empires. *Judea* was a small, but illustrious Kingdom; and *Egypt* was a very flourishing Monarchy. *Africa* was a potent Commonwealth, and possessed, in some measure, of *Sicily*.

Q. After having thus given a minute account of the Reigns of the several Kings, I should be glad to have the whole at one view, and in miniature, as it were?

A. *Romulus* employed the greatest part of his Reign, in enacting Laws and making regulations for the Government. Three of his State designs, viz. the *Asylum*, the Rape of the *Sabine* Virgins, and the manner of his treating the few whom he conquered, greatly contributed to the advancement of his Kingdom. In the long Reign of *Numa*, little was done besides the establishment of Priests and religious Orders, and *Rome* did not gain so much as a Foot of Ground. *Tullus Hostilius* spent his whole reign in eradicating Superstition from the minds of his Subjects, and in re-inspiring them with martial inclinations; and, yet, the only remarkable incident in his Conquests

Conquests was his intirely ruining *Alba. Ancus Marcius*, being not desirous of extending the bounds of his Empire, applied his whole thoughts to the strengthening and Embellishing the City. *Tarquinius Priscus*, tho' he was not of so peaceable a disposition as his Predecessor, he yet consulted very little else besides the Dignity of the Senate and the Majesty of the State; for the increase of which he appointed the ornaments and badges of the several Officers, to distinguish them from the People. *Servius Tullius* was of a peaceable disposition, his chief study being to take an exact estimate of the Estates of the Romans, and to divide them into Tribes, that so all might contribute in a just proportion, to the public Expence. *Tarquinius Superbus*, tho' perhaps engaged in more Wars than any of the preceding Kings, yet so many and so complicated were his Vices, that these could not fail of proving fatal to the growing Tyranny; and on the death of the unhappy *Lucretia*, the People in general were transported with such a mixture of fury and compassion, that, rushing immediately under the conduct of *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, upon the Tyrant, they expelled him and his whole family; after which, changing the form of their Government, they bestowed the supreme Command on the two last mentioned illustrious Romans, who had so generously restored them to their Liberty.

BOOK II. Chap. I.

The CONSULAR STATE.

From the rise of that Government to the Creation of the DECEMVIRI. Containing 57 Years.

Q. **H**OW did the *Romans* behave when they saw themselves at Liberty?

A. They were resolved to make choice of Superiors over whom they, at the same time, might command,

whenever they should judge it necessary. This prompted them to create two Consuls, whose Authority should continue but one year, and be divided between them. These Magistrates had all the exterior marks of Sovereign Power, as the purple Robe, the curule Chair, the Lictors, the Fasces, or Rods, and other *Insignia* of Royalty; but their Power was not so extensive as that of the Kings. The latter knew no other Law but their Will, and thought themselves accountable to none but the Gods: The Consuls, on the contrary, were to see the Laws executed; and the Commonwealth exercised its Authority by their Administration. They had the Power to assemble the Senate and the People, but were restrained from acting, unless authorized by the Decrees of one of those Bodies; so that it was almost impossible for them to be the immediate cause of any Error.

Q. Who were the first Consuls?

A. *Tarquinius Collatinus*, Husband to *Lucretia*, and *Lucius Junius Brutus*, who governed as absolutely as Kings. The Consuls were first called *Prætors*, next *Judices*, and afterwards *Consuls*, *a consulendo*, from counselling or consulting the good of the People in general. It was ordered, that these Magistrates should rule only alternately (each his month) and that both should not have the Fasces and Axes at the same time, lest the People might imagine they had two Masters. The Consul, therefore, who was in Office, was always attended by twelve Lictors, who carried the Fasces and Axes before him; whilst his Colleague had the same number of Lictors and Fasces, but no Axes. *Brutus*, with the consent of his Colleague, governed first. These Magistrates were elected annually, from among the *Patriots*, by the People in the *Comitia Centuriata*, and were men of the most excellent Qualifications, so long as there was no corruption in the State.

Q. Did not *Tarquin* send Embassadors to *Rome*?

A. These made large Promises, in his Name, to observe a just and regular Administration for the future; but not meeting with success in their Negotiations, they privately won over some of *Collatinus*'s Family to their Interest, viz. two of the *Aquilii*, and three of the *Vitellii*, together

together with *Brutus's* two Sons, *Titus* and *Tiberius*.
The *Vitellii* were also related to *Brutus*.

Q. How was this Conspiracy carried on ?

A. The Leaders resolved to bind themselves to one another with a most dreadful Oath, by drinking all of the same Blood, and touching the bowels of a Man whom they intended to sacrifice for that purpose. They met in the House of the *Aquili*, and their design was, to murder the two Consuls, and restore *Tarquin*. However, their Plot was discovered by a Slave, called *Vindicius* or *Vindex*, who had concealed himself accidentally in the same Room, and who afterwards flew to *Valerius*, and revealed the whole to him. *Valerius*, after having seized the Conspirators, and intercepted the Letters which they were writing to *Tarquin*, wherein they gave him an account of all their Transactions, went and laid open all the dark Scene before the two Consuls, the Senate and People.

Q. What followed on this ?

A. *Collatinus*, at the sight of his Relations, could not forbear bursting into Tears ; but *Brutus* finding his Sons make no answer to the Articles exhibited against them, condemned them himself to death. Immediately the Lictors tore off their Cloaths, tied their Hands behind them, scourged them with Rods, and struck their heads off before their Father, whose Eyes were for ever fixed on this sad Spectacle, without discovering the least Emotion. *Brutus* left to his Colleague the punishing the rest ; but perceiving that he was moved to compassion, and inclined to pardon them, he cried aloud, that himself only had sat as Judge over his two Sons, and that he abandoned the other Conspirators to the Judgment of the People. The Votes being taken, they were sentenced to be beheaded.

Q. What happened to *Collatinus* ?

A. He had been suspected before this by the People, which circumstance joined to the prejudice that was entertained against him, together with the relation he bore to, as well as the name of, *Tarquin*, made him resign his Employment, and leave the City. Others relate, that

that *Brutus*, obliged him to resign, and go from *Rome*, because he had endeavoured to save the *Conspirators*.

Q. Who succeeded *Collatinus* as *Consul*?

A. *Publius Valerius*, who immediately restored *Vindex* to his Liberty; and from him a full and perfect Manumission was called *Vindicta*. After this, the new *Consul* divided *Tarquin's* Goods among the People, and razed his Palace to the Ground.

Q. Did not *Tarquin* wage War against his Country?

A. He put himself at the Head
Ann. Rom. 246. of a considerable Body of *Hetrurians*, and advanced towards *Rome*. The two Armies engaging, the Generals of it, *viz.* *Brutus* the *Consul*, and *Aruns*, one of the Sons of *Tarquinius Superbus*, fought on Horseback with their Lances. *Plutarch* relates, that they met each other accidentally; according to other Historians, *Aruns* spying *Brutus*, rode up, and challenged him, with the most opprobrious Words to fight him. *Brutus*, who accepted the Challenge, ran with no less Fury on his Antagonist, when neither were so careful of their safety, as desirous of killing one another, which they accordingly did. A bloody Battle ensued, when 1130 *Hetrurians* lost their Lives, and near 5000 were taken prisoners. *Brutus* was buried with great magnificence; and the *Roman* Ladies mourned his Death a Twelvemonth, because he had auspiciously revenged the ravished *Lucretia*. He was considered as the Father of his Country.

Q. Did not *Valerius* enact some Laws in favour of the People?

A. He enacted several, and, on this account, was sur-named *Publicola*: By one of those Laws he allowed an appeal from the *Consuls* to the *People*; and by another, he made it Death for any *Man* to accept of any Magisterial office without the consent of the *People*. The last Law established by him, was for the creation of two *Quæstors*, or public Treasurers, who were to take care of the public Monies and Contributions, and appointed the Temple of *Saturn* for the *Ærarium* or Treasury. The *Quæstors* (who in *Julius Cæsar's* Time were 40 in number)

number) were also to keep the military Ensigns in the Treasury, to sell Plunder, lodge and carry our Embassadors, &c. *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, was appointed Consul in the room of *Brutus*; and the former dying soon after his Creation, was succeeded by *M. Horatius*. This year the Capitol was finished, and dedicated in the most solemn manner; and about the same time, the first League was made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. The year of the Consuls being expired, *Valerius Publicola* was re-chosen, and with him, *Lucretius Tricipitinus*.

Q. Where was *Tarquin* all this time?

A. He had fled to *Porsenna*, King of *Clusium*, a Country in *Hetruria*, and prevailed with that Prince to undertake his Defence. Accordingly *Porsenna*, being arrived, at the head of a considerable Army, before *Rome*, in order to restore *Tarquinius Superbus*, won the *Janiculum* at the first Attack. There now remained only the Bridge *Sublicius*, the taking of which would have made him Master of the City; when *Horatius*, surnamed *Cocles*, because he had lost an Eye, accompanied by *Herminius* and *Lucretius*, (two Officers of great distinction) defended, singly, the Passage with incredible Bravery, till his own party had broke down the Bridge; after which, he plunged, armed into the *Tiber*; and, tho' wounded in the Thigh by a Spear, swam over to his Friends. *Horatius* was rewarded by *Publicola* with several great Privileges, and a Statue was erected to his memory in the Temple of *Vulcan*. *Porsenna* coming afterwards to a Battle, was defeated, and lost 5000 Men.

Q. Did *Porsenna* break up the Siege?

A. No: And it being the third year of *Publicola's* Consulship, *Mutius Cordus* desired leave from the Senate, to go to *Porsenna's* Camp, he promising to murder that Prince. The Senate consenting, *Mutius* disguised himself in a *Tuscan Habit*, and, speaking the Language, went over to the Enemy's Army, where, instead of *Porsenna*, with whom he was not personally acquainted, he killed his Secretary. Being seized that Instant, and carried before the King, who had caused Fire to be brought in order to sacrifice to the Gods; *Mutius* was examined,

examined, when, instead of making any answer, he thrust his right Hand into the Fire, saying, he punished it in that manner, because it had done him no better service. The King, being both surprized and moved to compassion, ordered him to withdraw, and himself returned him his Sword. *Mutius* took it with his left Hand, whence we are told, he was surnamed *Scævola*, or left-handed. At his taking the Sword he spoke as follows :
 " Thy Generosity has vanquished me, which the fear
 " of thee could never do. Thou hast won me, and I will
 " now discover to thee out of affection, a Secret which
 " Force could never have extorted. There are in the
 " Camp 300 *Romans*, equally intrepid as myself, who
 " have all taken an oath to murder thee. I was ap-
 " pointed first to attempt the blow : I nevertheless am
 " not sorry that I failed in it, since so magnanimous a
 " Prince as *Porsenna* ought to be the Friend and Ally of
 " the *Romans* rather than their Enemy." *Porsenna*
 hearing this, concluded a Peace, to the great mortification of *Tarquin*. To recompence the Courage of *Mutius*, a Field was given to him on the other Side the *Tiber*, called afterwards *Mutii Prata*, and a Statue was erected in his Honour. For the ratifying the Peace above-mentioned, the *Romans* gave twenty Hostages, ten young Men and as many Virgins.

Q. Did not something extraordinary happen on this occasion ?

A. Among the Hostages who were given to *Porsenna*, was an illustrious Lady, named *Clælia*, who, finding an opportunity to elude the vigilance of her Keepers, came out of the Camp in the Night. She then got on Horseback, and swam, with one Companion, over the *Tiber*, amidst the darts of the Enemy. They then presented themselves to *Publicola*, who, fearing that this might be attended with ill consequences, sent them back to *Porsenna*. The King, struck with her Courage, presented her with one of his finest Horses, and gave her permission to return to *Rome* with such of the Hostages as she might select. *Clælia* chose only the youngest, as being the least able to sustain Hardships. The *Romans* set up a Statue, in which she was represented on Horseback, in
 the

the Street called *Via Sacra*. Porsenna afterwards retired, which put an end to the *Hetrurian War*.

Q. What other Wars followed this?

A. The *Sabines* were defeated twice, and the last time 13000 of their Men *Ann. Rom. 249.* were slain. A year after, *Appius Clafus*, (from whom sprung the illustrious Family called *Clausi*, and afterwards *Claudii*) a rich, valiant, and eloquent Man among the *Sabines*, came over to the *Romans*, with 5000 Families of his Friends and Dependants, and settled among the People; soon after which, the Tribes of the *Roman State* were increased from four to one and twenty. About this time the *Sabines* took up Arms again, but were *Ann. Rom. 250.* vanquished by *Publina*, who, having ended his Consulship, died very poor, on which account he was buried at the public Expence, the whole City mourning for, and greatly lamenting his Loss. The *Sabines* were again over- *Ann. Rom. 251:* thrown by *Posthumius* and *Menenius* the Consuls, on which account the Senate decreed a full 'Triumph to *Menenius*; but *Posthumius*, because he was unsuccessful in the beginning, had only an inferior one, called by the *Romans*, *Ovation*, which was so named from the Word *Ovis*; a Sheep being usually offered in this Procession, and an Ox in the Triumph.

Q. I should be glad to know some Particulars concerning the *Ovation*.

A. The Procession began commonly at the *Albanian Mountain*, whence the General, with his Train, made his Entry into *Rome*. He went on foot, a great many Flutes or Pipes playing as he marched along, himself wearing a Garland of Myrtle, as an Emblem of Peace, and shewing an aspect that raised Love and Respect rather than Fear. According to *Aulus Getlius*, that Honour was conferred on the Victor, when either the War had not been proclaimed in due form, or undertaken unjustly, and against an unlawful or inconsiderable Enemy. But according to *Plutarch*, those Generals, who, without force, had gained a Victory, and prevented the Effusion of human Blood, were honoured with the peaceable

able *Ovation*: A Pipe being the Ensign of Peace, and Myrtle the Tree of *Venus*, who of all the Deities, has the greatest aversion to War and Violence. The Crowns worn in the *Ovation* were called *Veneris Coronæ*.

Q. In what manner was the greater Triumph, or the Triumph properly so called, solemnized in after Ages?

A. The Triumphs for Land Battles were distinguished from those for Naval Engagements. Whenever a General demanded a Triumph, he was obliged to resign the command of the Army; was not allowed to enter *Rome*, nor approach it but at a certain distance, till this Honour had been granted or refused him. He afterwards wrote Letters to the Senate, containing a detail of the Conquests he had won. Then the Senate met in the Temple of *Mars* (at first 'twas in that of *Bellona*) where the Letters were read. After this the Centurions and other Officers of the Army affirmed with an Oath, that this relation was true, and that the Enemy had lost upwards of five thousand Men, a Triumph not being allowed for a less number. The Senate then decreed the Triumph; and appointed a day for solemnizing it. On this day the triumphant General, crowned with Laurel, and holding a Branch of that Tree in his right Hand, first made a Speech to the People and Soldiers who were assembled in the same place; after which he distributed his Presents and part of the Spoils taken from the Enemy. In the mean time some Senators, preceded by the Serjeants, opened the March, and were followed by the Trumpets; after whom came the Enemy's Spoils, which were carried either by young Soldiers or on Chariots. The conquered Cities and Nations were represented in Gold, Silver, gilded Wood, Ivory or Wax, with their Names and Inscriptions in capital Letters. There also were carried the Figures of the most remarkable Rivers and Mountains, and of the Places which the Conqueror had subjected to the *Roman Empire*. Afterwards was seen the gold or silver Plate taken from the vanquished Monarchs. The Priests assisted on this occasion, and led Oxen, (adorned with Ribbons and Garlands) designed for the Sacrifice, and sometimes their Horns were gilded. These were followed by Chariots, whereon lay the Crowns and

and Scepters which the Provinces had presented to the Conqueror to adorn his Triumph. The captive Monarchs and Generals, bound with gold or silver Chains, and their Heads shaved, to denote their Captivity, accompanied this Pomp. Then appeared several Officers of the Army, followed by many others, who carried the Crown of the conquered Countries. Next, the Conqueror himself was seen, seated on a two-wheeled ivory Chariot adorned with Gold, and drawn by four white Horses harnessed side by side. This was during the Republic, but afterwards, some employed Elephants, as Pompey ; others Lions and Tygers, as *Heliogabalus* ; and others, again, Stags, as *Aurelian*. An Officer, who stood behind the Conqueror, used to cry aloud, *Remember that thou art a Man* ; lest, dazzled by the Splendor of his Triumph, he should think himself more than mortal. The Conqueror's Crown was first of Laurel, a Branch of which he carried in his right Hand ; and in his left he held an Ivory Scepter with a little golden Eagle at the top. Before and after his Chariot came those who carried the Perfumes and played on Instruments. The Conqueror was preceded by his Friends and Relations carrying Branches of Laurel. The March was closed by the Generals, the rest of the Officers, and the Roman Legions, who sang congratulatory Airs in honour of the Conqueror. This whole Procession, which began without the City, entered *Rome*, by the triumphal Gate, and proceeded along the way appointed for it, which was adorned with a great number of triumphal Arches ; and in this order they went to the Capitol, where, after the Conqueror offered a Crown to *Jupiter*, particularly the Spoils called *Opima Spoila*, (when such had been won) a Sacrifice was offered to *Jupiter* ; a splendid Entertainment was given, and afterwards the Conqueror was conducted to his Palace. In the most flourishing times of the State, the Pomp and Magnificence of this Solemnity lasted several days, as the Triumphs of *Q. Flaminius*, *Julius* and *Augustus Cæsar*. The Crowns worn in the Triumph were called *Coronæ Martiæ*.

Q. To return to our History ; what other remarkable Transactions happened about this Period ?

A. The

A. The Sabines received another great
Ann. Rom. 252. Overthrow at Cures ; the Camarinæans
 were subdued, and their City demolished. Tarquin stirred up the whole Body of the Latines
 to revolt, but without Success; upon which, he endeavoured to corrupt many of the Slaves and poorer Roman
 Citizens, who were grievously oppressed by their Creditors; but the Plot being discovered by Sulpicius, one of
 the Consuls, he, by an artifice, drew the Conspirators in
 to the Forum, and put them all to the

Ann. Rom. 253. Sword. The Romans having taken Fi-
 denæ, a City of the Latines, the whole
 Nation was prevailed upon by Tarquin to declare War
 against Rome. But its poorer Citizens refusing to enlist
 themselves unless their Debts should be remitted, the
 Consuls and Senate endeavoured to reduce them to a
 Compliance; but not succeeding, they nominated a par-
 ticular Magistrate, from whom should lie no Appeal,
 and who, for a limited time, should be

Ann. Rom. 255. the sole Governor. He was called *Dic-
 tator* (from *dictando*, dictating or com-
 manding) and *Largius Flavius* was the first, who was cre-
 ated by the Senate. This was the first Intermission of
 the Consular Power. The *Dictator*, who also was called
Magister Populi, and *Praetor Maximus*, was created in the
 Night-time by the Consuls, without the People; and
 was always made on some sudden Exigency, or in times
 of Plagues and Famine. His Authority was absolute,
 and his Edicts were observed like those of a Deity. He
 was but six months in Employment, and was not allowed
 to go out of Italy; and he made choice of an Officer,
 called *Magister Equitum*, who commanded the Cavalry
 as the *Dictator* did the Roman People. The Dictatorship
 proved afterwards the ruin of the popular State, and oc-
 casioned the bringing in of Monarchy a second time.

Q. What ensued on this Creation of a *Dictator*?

A. *Largius Flavius* (who had appointed *Spurius Cas-
 fatus* his Master of Horse) immediately appeared in pub-
 lic with his Rods and Axes before him, which soon put a
 stop to the seditious Clamours of the Multitude. He
 then made the Survey; 150,700 Citizens gave in their
 Names,

Names, after which he prevailed with the *Latines* to suspend the War, notwithstanding the Opposition made by *Tarquin*, and *Manilius*, *Tarquin's* Son-in-law, for whose sakes they had undertaken it. *Largius* then returned home with his Army; and, after having conducted himself with great Wisdom and Integrity, resigned the Dictatorship, upon which the Consular Power again took place. The Truce being expired,

Posthumius was created Dictator, and *Ann. Rom.* 257. both Parties took the Field. The *Roman* Army consisted of 24000 Foot, and 1000 Horse; and the Enemy of 40000 Foot, and 3000 Horse. *Titus*, *Tarquin's* Son, commanded the main Body, his Brother *Sextus* the Left, and *Manilius* the Right. The *Romans* were at last victorious, and the Battle was fought with so much Bravery, that 'twas reported the Gods were present at it, and particularly *Cnstor* and *Pollux* mounted on milk-white Horses. *Posthumius* was farnamed *Regillensis*, from the Lake *Regillus*, 14 Miles from *Rome*, where the Engagement was fought. The *Latines* suing humbly for Peace, it was granted them; and thus ended all the thirteen years of War, made on account of *Tarquin*.

Q. What became of that Monarch?

A. Being now the only one that survived of his Family, and seeing himself abandoned by the *Latines*, the *Hetrurians*, the *Sabines*, &c. he retired to *Campania*, to *Afrodemus*, Prince of *Cuma*, where he died soon after, at about 90 Years of Age.

Q. Did not a quarrel arise between the Senate and People?

A. Yes; and 'twas chiefly owing to the Treatment which Debtors met with from their Creditors, by whom they were rigorously detained in Prison. *Appius Claudius*, the *Sabine*, and *Servilius Priscus*, were made Consuls this Year, the latter *Ann. Rom.* 258. being of a mild, and the former of a fiery Disposition. These fought the *Volsci*, and defeated them. But *Appius Claudius*, still insisting, that the People should have their Debts remitted them; and the latter being unable to pay them, much less the Tributes which were laid upon them for maintaining of the Army, resolved

solved to free themselves from these Oppressions. They had long beheld the Senate with a suspicious Eye. As this Body used their utmost endeavours to get the supreme Authority into their hands ; the People on the other side, jealous of this Honour and Power, resolutely opposed the Senate; not to mention that this Opposition was inflamed by certain niceties and scruples with regard to Birth and Rank. The *Patrician* Families thought themselves far superior to the *Plebeians*, who were thereby but the more animated to support one another. They could not bear to see the Nobles possess themselves of all the Wealth and Honours, and load them with all the Toil. This had made them refuse to take up Arms some years before against the Enemy, and the same motive prompted them to rise on this occasion.

Q. What ensued upon these Tumults ?

A. *M. Valerius*, a popular Man, was chose Dictator, who prevailed with the People to march against the *Volsci*, the *Æqui*, and *Sabines*, whom they reduced. But the *Patricians* still refusing to ease them, they, by the advice of *Sicinius Bellulus*, abandoned their Generals, withdrew to the other Side of the river *Anio*, and fortified themselves on a Place, called afterwards *Mons Sacer*, or the *Sacred Hill*, on account of the Laws that were made on it, by which, among other things, the Persons of the Tribunes were declared sacred and inviolable.

Posthumius Cominius and *Spurius Cas-*
Ann. Rom. 260. sius, who had been Consuls before, and were equally in favour with the Nobility and Commons, were now elected Consuls.

Q. How did the Senate act on this occasion ?

A. They met several times, and after very warm Debates between *Agrippa Menenius* and *Valerius* on one side, and *Appius* on the other, they at last sent some of the most popular old Men to the Mutineers, among them was *Menenius*, who spoke as follows, “ Once upon a time the Members of the human Body, observing that the Belly did not toil as they did, rebelled, and refused the Aliments necessary for its support. Upon this, the Members grew weak in proportion as the Belly became infirm, and soon found the need they had of it ;

" it; because the Belly first received the Nourishment,
 " and afterwards communicated it to the Members.
 " Thus, says he, as the Senate and People form but one
 " and the same Body, they will be destroyed by Divi-
 " ons, and supported by Concord." The Multitude were
 very well pleased with the Comparison; but being desir-
 ous to secure themselves from that thirst of Power, so
 natural to those who have the Ascendant, they insisted
 upon having Magistrates chosen from among themselves,
 who might secure them from the oppression of the Sen-
 ate and the Nobility; and their Demand was granted
 accordingly.

Q. What was the Name of these Magistrates?

A. Tribunes, and were so called, because they were elected by the Tribes, or from their being first taken from among the Tribunes or Colonels of the Soldiers. At first but two were appointed, who were *Junius Brutus* and *Sicinius Bellulus*, the Ring-leaders of the Sedition. Afterwards five were created, and at last ten. These were the only Persons who did not pay Obedience to the Senate, whose Power, and that of the Nobility, was very much limited by the Creation of these Officers. For the Tribunes, upon pretence of maintaining the Liberties of the People, moulded them as they thought proper, and made them take impressions of all kinds. They approved or rejected, at pleasure, the Decrees of the Senate and Consuls, and of all other Magistrates except the Dictators. Being not allowed, at first, to enter the Senate-House, they stood at the Door of it, where the decisions of the Senate were brought, in order for their Examination. 'Twas this afterwards gave rise to the many Seditions which terrified the Senate to a pro- digious degree. They afterwards were admitted into the Senate. When the Tribunes approved a Decree, They subscribed a T; or the Words *Veto* or *Vetamus*, to forbid the execution of it. They procured themselves to be called *Sacrosancti*, and confirmed this by a Law: so that it was reckoned the highest Impiety to offer them the least Injury, or even to interrupt them when they were speaking. The only Mark they had of their Of- fice was, their having a kind of Beadle, called *Visator*,

walk

walk before them. They were not allowed to be absent a whole Day from the City. As they were the Defenders and Protectors of the People, their Houses were to be open day and night, in order that they might be addressed at all times; but their Power was confined to the City. The *Plebeian* Families were long possessed of the Tribuneship, and the *Patricians* were afterwards admitted to it, but, upon condition of their having been adopted by a *Plebeian*. At the first Institution of these Magistrates, the Senate could scarce prevail with themselves to ratify the *Plebiscita*, or Ordinances of the People, and employed their utmost Endeavours to annul them. If but one of the Tribunes opposed an Ordinance of the People (and this was frequently brought about by the contrivances of the *Patricians*) it was rendered ineffectual; whence many were induced to believe, that their Power would one time or other, destroy itself. On the Creation of the Tribunes, the Commonwealth was changed from an Aristocracy to a Democracy, or at least to a Mixture of both. The Tribunes were afterwards extravagantly imperious, they assembling and dismissing the Senate, imprisoning the Consuls, &c. so that they often proved the cause of many dangerous Tumults and Seditions, and were the greatest disturbers of the Peace of the State; insomuch that some Authors have called them *Pestes Reipublicæ*.

Q. Who were the *Ædiles*?

A. They were as Assistants to the *Ann. Rom. 260.* Tribunes, (being created at this time) and had their Name *ab Ædibus currandis*. They, at first, were two in number, and chosen annually. Besides the Function above-mentioned, they had several of lesser Note, such as, to attend on the Tribunes of the People, and to judge some inferior Causes by their Deputation; to rectify Weights and Measures, prohibit unlawful Games, &c. Other *Ædiles* (chosen from among the *Patricians*) were added about 127 Years after.

Q. Was not *Corioli*, the Capital of the *Volsci*, besieged by the Romans?

A. *Posthumius* the Consul, who commanded the Romans,

mans, having left *T. Larpius* to carry on the Siege of that City, the Besiegers made a Sally; but *Caius Marcius*, one of the greatest *Romans* of that Age, pursued them to *Corioli* with an inconsiderable number of Forces, and took it. This noble Action gained him the Surname of *Coriolanus*. He afterwards, in conjunction with *Posthumus*, defeated the *Antiates*, that were come to succour the *Volsci*, who by this Overthrow, were forced to submission, and made their Peace. The *Census* was now performed, and 11000 Heads were cens'd.

The Year following there was a great *An. Rom. 261.* Famine in the City, occasioned chiefly by the neglect of Tillage during the late Separation.

Q. Did not this give rise to great Commotions?

A. *Gelon*, King of *Syracuse*, had granted the *Romans* fifty thousand Measures of Corn, half of which was as a free Gift, and the remainder was sold at a very cheap rate. The People were persuaded, that the Corn would be sold to them on the same easy terms for which it had been bought, and that Corn bestowed by *Gelon* be distributed among them; but *Coriolanus*, who was attached to the *Patricians*, took this opportunity to revenge himself of the People, who had refused him the Consulate; and told the Senators, that to indulge the Populace in all their demands, was, to betray the *Patricians*, and only to heighten the Insolence of the former; that ever since the Creation of the Tribunes, the Power of the People augmented daily; and that it was the Duty of the Senate to suppress the Tribune ship, rather than yield to their Remonstrances, whose only tendency was to ruin the Authority of the Senate and Consuls. He exhibited, in the most odious Colours, the Haughtiness and Insolence of the People, who imagined that they were licensed to commit the most iniquitous Actions, and who, on the slightest occasions in which they thought themselves injured, immediately made an Insurrection, from a supposition that they were dreaded.

Q. What followed upon this?

A. The Tribunes finding that *Coriolanus's* Opinion was going to prevail, informed the People of it, and employed their utmost Endeavours to make them take up

up Arms. All their Hatred then fell on *Coriolanus*, whom the Tribunes summoned to appear, in order to declare what he had urged before the Senate. But *Coriolanus*, so far from obeying the Summons, drove away the Serjeants who were sent to him, without condescending to make them the least Answer. Upon this the Tribunes, attended by the *Aediles*, went to seize him, but they were repulsed by the young *Patricians* who were gathered round *Coriolanus*, and obliged to return back.

Q. Did he appear before the Assembly of the People?

A. He came to it the next day; when his graceful relation of the several eminent Services he had done his Country; his shewing his Body covered with Scars, and the Lamentations of those whom he had saved in the Wars, made so strong an impression on the People, that they all cried, " he should be released." But *Decius*, one of the Tribunes; and *Sicinius*, another of that Body, having inveighed before against *Coriolanus*, declared aloud, that *Coriolanus* was sentenced to die by the Tribunes, for having aimed at Sovereignty and Tyranny, by dividing among his Friends the Booty he had got in the late Incursion into the Territories of *Antium*. And thereupon they commanded the *Aediles* to seize him, and throw him headlong from the *Tarpeian Rock*. This Sentence would have been executed, had not the Senate and *Patricians* rescued him from the *Aediles*. It was nevertheless decreed, but against the Opinion of *Appius Claudius*, that he should be tried a second time; when being judged by the People, he was condemned to perpetual Banishment. This was the first Sentence passed by the People upon a *Patrician*.

Q. Whither did *Coriolanus* retire?

A. To the *Volsci*, over whom *Accius Tullius* was General, and *Coriolanus* exhorted them to make War against the Romans. Soon after this, he *Ann. Rom. 263.* in Conjunction with the *Volselian* General, headed their Troops, and, after seizing upon several Towns, came and encamped at *Clitilius's Ditch*, five Miles from *Rome*. *Coriolanus* had now the sole command of half the Forces. Hither Embassadors came thrice to him, who promised that all

all his Demands should be granted, provided he would first lay down his Arms ; but they all returned without being able to obtain any other condition than this, viz. that they should gratify the *Volsci* in all their Demands. He now would have carried his resentment to the utmost height, had not *Veturia* his Mother, and *Volumnia* his Wife, accompanied by a great number of Ladies of the highest Distinction, come to him. He was struck at their approach, when going to embrace his Mother, she cried, " before you embrace me, let me know whether " I am come to a Son or an Enemy." Others relate, that *Veturia*, after applying the utmost Power of her Rhetoric to move her Son, cried, " that he should " not stir a Foot towards the treading down of his " Country, without first trampling upon the dead Body " of her who brought him into the World." At these Words *Coriolanus* threw himself about her Neck, and said aloud, " O Mother, you have gained the Victory, " most fortunately for my Country, but most destruc- " tive to myself." *Coriolanus* had been waited upon before, by the *Pontifices*, Priests, Governors of religious Houses, and Augurs, all in their proper Ornaments and Habits, and who, in a Solemn Procession, begged in the most humble manner for an Accommodation but, all in vain. After this he marched back the *Volsci* into their own Country.

Q. What befel *Coriolanus* afterwards?

A. *Tullius*, who now envied his Glory, represented this to the *Volsci* as the most treasonable Act against them, and caused him to be murdered, without scarce allowing him time to speak for himself. However, this was against the consent of the greatest part of the *Volsci*, who gave him honourable Interment, adorning his Tomb with Arms and Trophies as a great General ; and the *Roman* Women were permitted to mourn for him ten Months.

Q. Did not *Spurius Cassius* come to a fatal End ?

A. Being grown insolent by his three Consulships and his two Triumphs (the *Ann. Rom.* 268. last of which was over the *Volsci* and *Hernici*) he was resolved to push on his design of Sovereignty ;

reignty; and the more to ingratiate himself with the People, he proposed the Division of some lately-conquered Lands among the meaner Sort; and afterwards made a Speech, in which he expatiated on the great Services he had done his Country, concluding with these Words, "That since he had already taken charge of the Commonwealth, it was but just and reasonable that he should continue it." This Proposal, with regard to the conquered Lands, was strongly opposed in the Senate, and created Fears and Jealousies; but the Forwardness of the *Plebeians*, and the Disturbances that were like to ensue, made the Senate, after a great Variety of Debates, to publish their Resolution, "for dividing the Lands among the Commons; excluding withal, all new Allies and Associates, as having no reason to expect any share of the Lands conquered before their time." This was the famous *Agrarian Law*, according to which the Lands were to be divided among the People, but it was rejected. The Year after *Spurius*'s third Consulship, he was arraigned by the *Quæstors* for aspiring to sovereign Power; and notwithstanding the Speeches he made, his Services, and the Intercession of his Friends, he was thrown down the *Tarpeian Rock*. Many were for having the Punishment extended to his Children, but this Severity was disapproved. From this time, it was a Law at *Rome* not to punish Children for their Fathers Crimes, till the Wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*.

Q. What other Transactions happened about this time?

A. The Commons were very urgent for the Execution of the *Agrarian Law*, but were as strongly opposed by the Senate, whence great Tumults ensued; the *Plebeians* refusing, at first, to enlist themselves. The *Romans* engaged afterwards in several Wars, but of no great consequence, with the *Volsci*, *Aequi*, and soon after with the *Veientes*. The Contests between the Consuls and Tribunes, concerning the *Agrarian Law*, continued near five Years, which occasioned mighty Feuds, in the midst whereof the *Veientes* marched against *Rome*. *Cæso Fabius* and *Titus Virginius* were then Consuls. The *Veientes* making Incursions almost to the Walls of *Rome*, the Senate was reduced to great Extremities, when the whole

whole Family of the *Fabii*, which consisted of 306 Men, offered generously to guard the Frontiers at their own Charge. These illustrious Personages, with their Clients and Friends, making in all 4000, fortified themselves in a Castle, called by them *Cremera*, from a little River of that Name, on which it stood, nigh the Frontiers of the *Veientes*, whence they, for a long time, greatly annoyed that People, but were at last killed by a Stratagem. For the Enemy causing several heads of Cattle and flocks of Sheep to be driven to the neighbouring Places, and lying in Ambuscade, the *Fabii* unhappily marched out, and were all cut to Pieces, though, at first, by forming themselves into a Wedge, they got to the summit of a Hill, and there, tho' surrounded by the Enemy, they yet made a prodigious havock. According to *Livy*, none of this Family survived, *Ann. Rom.* 276. except one Youth, from whom afterwards sprung *Fabius Maximus*; but *Dionysius* can scarce give credit to this Tradition. This happened under the Consulate of *Horatius* and *Menenius*, the latter of whom met with a signal Overthrow from the *Veientes*. The Romans were so sensibly affected with the Loss, that they ranked this Day among the *Nefasti*, or unlucky ones; and the Gate called before *Carmentale*, through which these generous Warriors passed, was named *Scelerata*. On the morrow the Enemy entered the Roman Territories, and possessed themselves of the Hill *Janiculum*, two Miles from *Rome*, to the great Prejudice and Dishonour of the City: However, *Horatius* the other Consul overthrew the *Veientes* twice, and yet could not wholly dislodge them: But, the *Ann. Rom.* 275. Year after, *Servilius* and *Virginius*, two experienced Warriors, being appointed Consuls, cleared the *Janiculum* of the Enemy, and made them retire in great disorder to their territories. The War was still carried on against the *Veientes*, who, two Years after, were so much weakened, that they were obliged to sue for Peace; and a Truce for forty Years was granted them.

Q. Was not the quarrel concerning the *Agrarian Law* again revived?

A. This was owing chiefly to *Genutius*, one of the Tribunes, who boldly impeached *Manlius* and *Furius*, the late

Consuls; but the Prosecution was stopt by *Genutius's* Death. The Sedition, however, broke out again by the Violence of the Consuls, who would force one *Volero*, a turbulent Fellow, and formerly an Officer, to enlist himself for a common Soldier; and, upon his Refusal, ordered him to be stripped and scourged. But *Volero* fled to the Tribunes, who protected him, and inveighed strongly against the Tyranny of the Consuls. The People now turned their Thoughts from the Lands, and raised fresh Quarrels concerning their Liberties and Privileges. And *Volero*, the Year after, getting himself elected one of the Tribunes, the more to retrench the Power of the Consuls, proposed a Law for holding the Assemblies of *Tribes*, instead of that of the *Curiæ*; called *Comitia Curiata*; which was so contrived as to take in greater Numbers, and to give the Commons much more Power and Privilege than formerly. However, *Volero* did not then succeed in his Design, but being created Tribune a second time; and *Appius Claudius*, the Son of *Appius*, and *Quintius Capitolinus*, appointed Consuls; *Appius* opposed the Commons with so much Vigour, that the Tribunes commanded him to depart the Assembly, when great Quarrels ensued, which yet were pacified by *Quintius*. A few Days after, the Tribunes and the People seized on the Capitol; but *Quintius* prevailing with them to refer this Law to the Senate's Discretion, this Body, after many long Debates, permitted it to be put to the *Comitia*, and accordingly it was passed.

Ann. Rom. 282. This was called the *Comitia Tributa*, where all the free *Romans* voted according to their Tribes; whereas in the *Comitia Curiata*, none were allowed to vote but the Inhabitants of *Rome*. The most material Difference between the two *Comitias* was this; in the *Curiata*, such Matters were debated on, and confirmed by the Suffrages of the *Curiæ*, as the Senate had first decreed; but in the *Tributa*, all Things were carried on without once consulting the Senate, and wholly determined by the Votes of the Tribes gathered apart. This new Law greatly increased

the

the Power and Authority of the *Plebeians*; brought many *Patricians* into Danger; and proved the Ruin of *Appius* who was arraigned by the Tribunes, but killed himself before the Day appointed for the Trial.

Q. Did not the *Æqui*, the *Sabines*, and *Volsci* engage in War about this Time with the *Romans*?

A. Yes; and the latter had generally the Advantage, and particularly took *Ann. Rom. 284.* *Antium* from the *Volsci*. A dreadful Plague broke out in *Rome*, which swept away numberless Multitudes, and among the rest the two Consuls. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* being very much weakened, the Year following, *Volumnius* and *Camerinus*, the two Consuls, employed their Endeavours to check the exorbitant Power of the Tribunes, who made great Complaints, because the *Roman Laws* were yet unwritten; and, upon this, proposed a Law, *viz.* That ten Men should be chosen in a lawful Assembly, to publish Laws concerning all public and private Transactions; however, they did not succeed on this Occasion, by reason of the vigorous Opposition made by the young *Patricians*. The Divisions still increasing, *Herdonius*, a *Sabine*, with 4000 Men, assisted by the Slaves in *Ann. Rom. 293.* *Rome*, seized on the Capitol. But *Valerius*, one of the Consuls at that time, assaulting it vigorously on all Sides, took it, he being slain in the Attack.

Q. I should be glad to have some Account of *Quintius Cincinnatus*?

A. This illustrious *Roman* had sold almost all his Estate, to reimburse the Sureties that were bound for his Son *Cæso Quintius*, who had fled into *Hetruria*; and *Cincinnatus* himself was retired from the World. The *Plebeians* being still very arrogant, the Senators, to strengthen their Interest, resolved to chuse *Cincinnatus* Consul. The Messenger found him very meanly dressed, and hard at Plough. Being saluted with the name of Consul, invested with Purple, and honoured with the *Fasces* and other *Insignia* of Magistracy, he was desired to set out for *Rome*; but, after a little Pause, he said with Tears, “ For this Year my poor little Field must be unsown, and we shall be in danger of being reduced to Want.” Being arrived in

the City, he restrained the Tribunes from preferring the Law, and ingratiated himself with the Commons : and after the Expiration of his Consulship, returned to his rural Cot, and his former laborious Life. The *Aequi* and *Volsci* being excited to revolt by *Gracchus Clælius*, who greatly distressed the Roman Army.

Ann. Rom. 295. *Quintius Cincinnatus* was chosen Dictator, who engaging *Clælius*, forced his whole Army to yield at Discretion. All were made Prisoners of War, and *Quintius*, in token of their Servitude, obliged them to pass under the *Jugum*, which was two Spears set up, and a third laid across, in the Form of a Gallows. After taking *Corbio*, a considerable Town, from the Enemy, he returned to *Rome* with a more magnificent Triumph than any before him. Immediately after he resigned his Office ; and when the Senate and his Friends would have enriched him with public Lands, Plunder, and Contributions, he refused them, and re-

turned to his rural Hut, and humble
Ann. Rom. 296. Course of Life. The Year following the *Sabines*, with the *Aequi*, retook *Corbio*, on which Occasion the Tribunes were increased to ten, after which a successful War was carried on against the last-mentioned People.

Q. How did the Tribunes behave after this ?

A. Very insolently, they even pretending to assemble the Senate by their own Authority, and carried their Arrogance so far, as to resolve to arraign the Consuls, but were prevented from proceeding. However, they were fully determined to prefer the *Agrarian Law*, and appointed a Day for the *Comitia*. Here several of the *Plebeians* expatiated on the great Services they had done the Commonwealth, and among others *Siccius Dentatus*, who made so artful a Speech, that the *Plebeians* were almost transported with him. But the *Patricians* defeated his Designs, so that the Law, with regard to the Division of Lands, could not be passed. *Siccius Dentatus* occasioned the obtaining a signal Victory over the *Aequi*, and

Ann. Rom. 299. was made one of the Tribunes. A Law was then passed in the *Centuriata Comitia*, " That all Magistrates should have Power to " punish

" punish such as violated their Authority, but not by any
 " Fine exceeding two Oxen or thirty Sheep ;" which
 Law pleased the People ; and Matters being now a little
 quieted, all the Inhabitants of *Rome* in general began to
 consider of ways and methods to settle the Government
 more firmly, and to prevent all dangerous Divisions for
 the future. Upon this it was agreed, that Ambassadors
 should be sent to the Grecian Cities in *Italy*, and to *Aibens*,
 to bring from thence the most excellent Laws, and such
 as might be best conducive to the Prosperity of the
 Commonwealth. *Posthumius*, *Sulpitius*, and *Manlius* were
 appointed for this great Design ; and two Years after
 which it was agreed, " That ten Men from among the
 " principal Senators should be chosen, whose Power,
 " continuing a Year, should be the same with that of
 " Kings and Consuls, and this without any Appeal ;
 " and that all Magistrates should lay down their Autho-
 " rity, till they might be renewed according to the
 " Laws." The Consuls elect, then resigning their
 Office, were incorporated into the Decemvirate ; and
 the Tribunes, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*, &c. *Ann Rom* 302.
 were divested of all Power and Autho- *Ref. Christ*, 450.
 rity. This was as remarkable a Change
 of Government as that from Kings to Consuls, and
 was the second Interruption of the Consular Power.

BOOK II. Chap. II.

The CONSULAR STATE.

*From the Creation of the Decemviri to the first
 Punic or Carthaginian War.*

Containing 187 Years.

(ANN. ROM. 302.)

Q. WHO were appointed *Decemviri* ?

A. *Appius Claudius* and *Genutius*, the late
 Consuls elect ; *Posthumius*, *Sulpitius*, and *Manlius*, the
 three Ambassadors ; *Sextus* and *Romulus*, formerly Con-
 suls ; with *Julius*, *Veturius*, and *Horatius*, all Senators.

These

These agreed that only one of them at a time should have the *Fasces*, and other Consular Ornaments; should assemble the Senate, confirm Decrees, and act in all Respects as supreme Magistrate. To this Honour they were to succeed by turns till the Year was expired; and the rest were obliged to differ very little in their Habits from private Persons, that the People might not suspect them of aiming at Tyranny and absolute Power. The *Decemviri* exposed to public View, the same Year, the ten Tables of the Laws, collected from those of *Greece*, and the Customs of their own Country. Being approved, a *Senatus Consultum* passed for the ratifying of them. The Tribunes confirmed this Decree, and then ten Brass Pillars were erected in the *Forum*, on which these Laws were engraved. The People seemed well pleased, during the first Year, with the Government of these Magistrates; but perceiving that something was still wanting to the Perfection of those Laws, new *Decemviri*, with the Consent of the Senate and People, were created, to correct the ten Tables, and govern the Commonwealth the succeeding Year.

Q. How did these new Magistrates behave?

A. They corrected the Laws, and added two Pillars to the other ten, whence these Laws were called the *Laws of the twelve Tables*, they containing Matters of the greatest Policy, and excelling the Libraries of all Philosophers. They were divided into three Parts; the first whereof contained the Things belonging to the Religion of the *Romans*; the second, the Particulars relating to the Public; and the third, the Rights of private Persons. The Interpretation of these Laws was called *Jus Civile*, or *Civil Law*; and the Cases composed out of these Laws, *Actiones Juris*, or *Cases at Law*. The rest of the *Roman Laws*, that were either before or after these, were of four kinds, *viz.* *Plebiscitum*, made by the Authority of the *Plebeians* without the Senate; an Edict of a Magistrate, called *Jus Honorarium*; *Senatus Consultum*, or an Ordinance of the Senate by their sole Authority; and, lastly, that called *Principalis Constitutio*, enacted by the Prince or Emperor.

Q. Pray return to the *Decemviri*.

A. They

A. They continued themselves in Power for the Year following, which was the third *Decemvirate*, and great Contentions ensued, the *Sabines* and *Æqui* beginning to invade the *Roman Territories*. The *Decemviri* made the People soon feel the Effects of their Tyranny. They had bound themselves by an Oath to be unanimous in all their Actions; to invest themselves with supreme Power, and to possess, at the same time, the like Privileges and Honours. And being thus both Legislators and Judges, many Citizens were put to Death unjustly, and others illegally deprived of their Estates; whose Causes they all formally judged, that they might make the greater Show and Pretence of Justice. In a short time, the greatest Part of the Citizens were also corrupted; and such as were most offended at the extravagant Actions of the *Decemviri*, withdrew themselves, waiting for a new Creation of Magistrates. One of the *Decemviri* (*Appius Claudius*) fell distractedly in Love with *Virginia*, a Maiden of exquisite Beauty, and as conspicuous for her Chastity, Daughter of *Virginicus*, a *Plebeian*, who was then in the Army lying at *Algidum* against the *Æqui*. *Claudius*, not being allowed, by his own Laws, to marry *Virginia*, suborned one of his Clients, to challenge her for his Slave, in order that he (*Claudius*) might enjoy her by that means; and the Affair being tried before that *Decemvir* he adjudged her to his Client. *Virginicus*, hearing of this, left the Camp, and came immediately to *Rome*; when finding, that his Daughter had been given away as a Slave, he desired to be allowed to speak to her but once more. This being granted, he took *Virginia* aside, and plunging a Dagger into her Bosom, cried, "O Daughter, this is the only way left me to set thee at Liberty, and for thee to be unspotted." Then throwing up his angry Eyes to the Tribunal, he cried, "Appius, thou Tyrant, with this Blood I doom thee to certain Death." With the Knife he ran thro' the City, and afterwards rode to the Camp with his Cloaths all bloody, when he persuaded the Soldiers to revolt from the Ten. The Army retired immediately to Mount *Aventine* (which was the second Separation of the *Plebeians*) but upon the Promise that the *Decemviri*

should be abolished, the People returned to the City. The *Decemviri* being then called to account, *Appius* was committed to Prison, no Bail being allowed him: and, before he came to his Trial, was found dead, but by what means is uncertain. *Oppius*, the next to him in Guilt, murdered himself in Prison, and the rest of the eight banished themselves. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were

Ann. Rom. 304. appointed Consuls, not long after which a Law was made, for receiving the Privilege of Triumph from the People.

Q. What remarkable Transactions happened upon this?

A. After the Romans had carried on a War with no great Success, during three Years, against the *Volsci* and

Ann. Rom. 308. *Æqui*, these, at last, met with a signal Overthrow from *Quintius* and *Furius* the then Consuls. The Tribunes growing

Ann. Rom. 309. more and more turbulent, a Law was passed in their Favour (to the great

Disgust of the Senate) to permit the Marriages of *Patricians* with *Plebeians*. And, upon the People's being displeased with the Consular State, and

Ann. Rom. 310. mighty Feuds arising, three new Magistrates, called *Tribuni Militum*, or *Military Tribunes*, were created, which was the third Intermission of the Power above-mentioned.

Q. Who were the first *Military Tribunes*?

A. *Sempronius Atratinus*, *Clælius Siculus*, and *Attilius Longus*, who were all *Patricians*. These Tribunes were afterwards increased to four, and at last to six. And tho' they had the Authority and *Insignia* of Consuls, yet their Number, together with the mixture of *Plebeians*, which afterwards intruded in, made their Privilege seem somewhat different and inferior. The three *Military Tribunes* above mentioned were obliged to lay down their Employments in less than eight Weeks, the Augurs having found a Flaw in their Election, and Consuls were re-chosen. These finding the public Business increase,

Ann. Rom. 311. to ease themselves, caused two Centors to be created. These Magistrates, who made no great Appearance at first, soon became

became extremely considerable. *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, both *Patricians*, were the first Censors; and these high Officers were for near 100 Years chosen from among the *Patricians*, till the *Plebeians* found their Way to this, as they did to all other Offices. The *Roman Colonies* had afterwards their Sub-Censors.

Q. What other remarkable Transactions happened about this Time?

A. *Geganius*, the Consul, gained a very memorable Victory over the *Volsci*, for which a noble Triumph was decreed him; *Clulius*, the *Volscian* General, being led before the Chariot. Three Years after, *Sp. Mælius*, a wealthy Knight, began to affect Popularity, and by that means to aspire to the Sovereignty. Upon this *Quintius Cincinnatus*, now Fourscore, was chosen Dictator, who appointed *Servilius Abala* for his Master

of the Horse. The Dictator summoned *Mælius* to appear, which he refusing, *Abala* set upon him in the *Forum*, and killed him. Ann. Rom. 314.

Mælius to appear, which he refusing, *Abala* set upon him in the *Forum*, and killed him. The Tribunes exasperated at the Death of their great Friend *Mælius*, procured Military Tribunes to be created, instead of Consuls, the following Year. The Inhabitants of *Fidene* revolting, the Senate sent Ambassadors to that City, to enquire into the Reasons of it; but the *Fidenates* treacherously murdered them, upon which Consuls were again chosen.

Mamercus Æmilius being appointed Dictator, to carry on the War against the *Veientes*, he obtained a great Victory

over the Enemy, in which Engagement *Cornelius Cossus*, a Tribune in the Army, slew King *Tolumnius* with his own Hand, and therefore obtained the Honour of the *Opima Spolia*, or Royal Spoils, which were the only Spoils of that kind since *Romulus's* Time. Two Years after this, *Rome* was afflicted with a grievous Pestilence.

The *Veientes* threatening to destroy *Rome*. *Æmilius* was again elected

Dictator; but that People, not being able to procure any Aid, *Æmilius* had little Employment abroad; and therefore resolving to do something at home, he reduced the Duration of the Censorship to one Year and a half, which before was five Years. Hence the Censors took

an occasion to remove him out of his Tribe, at which the *Plebeians* were so much offended, that they again procured the Election of *Military Tribunes*, in which, notwithstanding the great Industry of the Tribunes of the People, they could not get one *Plebeian* to be chosen, which very much exasperated the Populace.

Q. Were not the *Consuls* brought in again?

A. Two Years after—*Posthumius*.

Ann. Rom. 322.

Tubero being made Dictator, defeated the *Equi* and *Volsci*, and obtained a Triumph.

Ann. Rom. 326.

After there had been *Consuls* four Years, the Commons caused four *Military Tribunes* to be elected, but still they were not able to bring about their Designs.

Ann. Rom. 327.

Æmilius being chosen Dictator a third Time, and appointing *Cossus* above-mentioned, his Master of Horse, they overthrew the *Veientes*, and *Fidenæ* was again taken and plundered. During eight Years after, the Commonwealth was governed sometimes by *Consuls*, and at other time by *Military Tribunes*.

The *Quæstors*, who had been but two in Number, were now increased to

Ann. Rom. 335.

four. The *Military Tribunes* still continuing, the Slaves conspired to fire the City, and seize on the Capitol; but the Plot was found out very seasonably, and great Rewards were bestowed on the Discoverers.

Ann. Rom. 344.

After this, the Commons obtained to have three *Quæstors* created out of their Body, who

were the first *Plebeian* *Quæstors* that were ever in *Rome*.

Ann. Rom. 344.

The *Patricians* and *Plebeians* were reconciled in some mea-

Ann. Rom. 344.

sure, by means of the great Plunder of *Anxur*, taken

Ann. Rom. 344.

from the *Volsci*; but particularly by a Decree of the Se-

Ann. Rom. 344.

nate, ordering the Payment of the Soldiers to be made

Ann. Rom. 344.

in Bras Money, till which every Soldier bore his own

Ann. Rom. 344.

Expences in the War, as was before re-

Ann. Rom. 344.

lated; and this was the first Time that

Ann. Rom. 344.

the *Roman* Soldiers were paid. The *Ro-*

Ann. Rom. 344.

man Dominions were now increased very considerably.

Q. Did not this People carry on War against the *Ve-*

Ann. Rom. 344.

enices with great Vigour?

Ann. Rom. 344.

A. *Vell*

A. *Veii* was a very large, strong, rich City, and had not only been many Years the Rival of *Rome*, but had always behaved so perfidiously, that a complete Revenge was now judged necessary. The *Romans* therefore invested *Veii*, but found it so strong, that they were forced to continue the Siege both Winter and Summer, the Soldiers lying under Beast-skins. The Tribunes murmuring at this, they procured the Military Tribunes to be increased from four to six. Some time after, they revived the antient Contest with respect to the *Agrarian Law*; and the same Year, after much Pains and Trouble, they prevailed so far as to get *Licinius Calvus*, a Plebeian, to be chosen a Consular Tribune. They were highly pleased with this, it being the first Time that the Commons could get a share in the high Offices of State. The Siege growing very tedious, *Furius Camillus*, who had been Censor, and one of the Military Tribunes, was appointed Dictator, who accordingly set out for *Veii*. *Camillus*, finding it would be very difficult to storm it, secretly dug a Mine with prodigious Labour; after which, a Party of Men entering by it, they soon possessed themselves of the City, to the great Surprise of the Besieged. *Camillus* seeing the lamentable State to which such a flourishing Place was reduced, burst into Tears, and besought the Gods, that if the present Prosperity of the *Romans* must necessarily be balanced by some Misfortune, it might fall on him, and not on his Country. *Camillus*, at his Return, was honoured with a Triumph, on which occasion he caused his Chariot to be drawn by four white Horses, which was judged an Innovation, such Horses being looked upon as peculiar to *Jupiter* only.

Q. What happened after this?

A. A Proposal was made by the Tribunes, for dividing the Senate and People in two Parts, one of which should continue in *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*, and settle there; but this Motion was over-ruled by *Camillus*, whereby he incurred the Hatred of many of the Plebeians,

Plebeians, which was very much inflamed by the following Incident. This General had solemnly vowed to dedicate the tenth Part of the Spoils to *Apollo*, in case he should take *Vess*; but afterwards neglected his Vow. The Senate being informed by the *Auspices* (whose Office was to inspect Beasts offered in Sacrifice, and from them to pronounce the Success of any Enterprize) that the Gods were angry because of this Omission, decreed that every Soldier should give the tenth Part of his Share of the Plunder, which created great Murmuring. It being afterwards resolved that a Vase should be sent to *Delphos*; and there being little Gold in the City, the Roman Ladies assembled together, and gave their Ornaments, amounting to eight Talents in Gold, for that Purpose; upon which the Senate, to reward their Generosity, decreed that Funeral Orations might henceforward be pronounced in Honour of Women, which till then had never been allowed.

Q. Did not a remarkable Incident happen in the War of the *Falisci*?

A. These People revolting, *Camillus*, who was again created a *Military Tribune*, invested *Fa-*
Ann. Rom. 360. Ierii, their chief City. During the Siege, a Schoolmaster treacherously delivered up his Pupils, who were all Sons to Persons of the greatest Distinction, to the Roman General. But *Camillus* sent back the noble Youths to the Besieged, with their Master in Chains, and his Hands bound behind him; which generous Action charmed the *Falisci* to such a Degree, that they submitted voluntarily to the *Romans*, whereby the Soldiers were deprived of the Spoils; a Circumstance that heightened exceedingly the Murmurs against *Camillus*. Consuls were again elected instead of the *Military Tribunes*; and these being re-chosen, and the People moving for a Separation, *Camillus* opposed the Motion with the utmost vigour; when finding that the *Plebeians* were going to condemn him, as guilty of fraudulent Practices in the Distribution of the Plunder taken in the late War, he banished himself, after lifting up his Hands to the Capitol, and praying, "That if his Exile were unjust, his Enemies might suddenly repent it;

" and that it might appear to the whole World, how serviceable his Sword had been to the Romans."

Q. Did not the Gauls March against Rome?

A. Yes; under the Conduct of Brennus their King. These were the Galli *Ann. Rom.* 363. Senones, a very numerous, warlike, and rough People, who inhabited most of that Part of Italy; now called Lombardy. The Romans hearing of their Approach, marched out against them, but were miserably defeated near the River *Ahn. Rom. 364.* Allia. This Loss filled the Citizens of Rome with Dread. Nothing but lamentable Howlings were heard in all Places, some abandoning the City, others creeping into Holes, Priests concealing their Relics, Women flying up and down in Despair, with their Children in their Arms, and every one shifting for himself; so that Rome was abandoned, if we except those that retired to the Capitol, and some ancient Senators who staid in their Houses. The Gauls, after pursuing the Runaways, entered Rome without the least Opposition, and were surprized to see those venerable Magistrates waiting their coming in the Forum, with the utmost Calmness; and who would have thought it a betraying of the Honour and Dignity of the Republic, had they fled from Death. The Gauls, seeing them in their Robes of State, and immovable in their Ivory Chairs, took them, at first, for Statues, or for the Tutelar Gods of the City; till one bolder than the rest, stroaking Papirius's Beard, was struck by him with his Ivory Staff, upon which he killed the old Man; whereupon the Slaughter began, and after murdering the rest, they plundered the City, and burnt it to Ashes, the Capitol excepted. Thus was the famous City of Rome destroyed, occasioned by a manifest Breach of Justice in the Romans, and their violating Before Christ the Law of Nations; their Ambassadors 388 Years. having fallied treacherously upon the Gauls at their besieging Clusium, which was the Cause why the last-mentioned People marched and besieged Rome. The Gauls were now going to climb up to the Capitol, some of them having discovered the Footsteps of

of *Pontius Comitus*, who had been sent thither by *Camillus* just before, and had got to it in the following manner. *Pontius* dressing himself in a mean Garment, and carrying Corks beneath it, went for *Rome*, where he arrived when it was dark. Finding the Bridge guarded, he bound his Cloaths about his Head, and swam over the *Tiber* upon his Corks; when avoiding those Quarters where he perceived the Enemy to be awake, he entered the City, and from thence, with extreme Difficulty and Danger, got up to the *Capitol*.—To return to the *Gauls*, a Party of them were climbing up this way unperceived; but the sacred Geese cackling, awaked the Garrison, when *Marcus Manlius* repulsed the Enemy, and for this glorious Action was turnamed *Capitolinus*; but being afterwards suspected of aspiring to sovereign Power, he was tried (*Camillus* being one of his *Ann. Rom. 369.* Judges) and thrown headlong from the very Place which he had preserved.

Q. Were not the *Romans* going to capitulate?

A. They were in the utmost want of Provisions, when *Camillus* who had been created Dictator in his Absence, and had levied forces in *Ardea*, whither he had retired, marched against the *Gauls*. He defeated them in a Battle; and afterwards the *Romans* agreeing to pay down 1000 Pound Weight of Gold, and the *Gauls* using false Dealing in their weighing, a Contest arose, in the midst of which *Camillus* arrived; when taking the Gold out of the Scales, he told the *Gauls*, that it was the Custom of the *Romans* to free their Country with Iron, not with Gold. Immediately a bloody Battle ensued, in which the *Gauls* were so entirely routed, that all the *Roman* Territories were soon cleared of them. Thus was *Rome* taken and recovered in seven Months; and *Camillus*,

Ann. Rom. 365. who was justly considered as a second *Romulus*, had a noble Triumph decreed him. The People were for removing to *Veti*, but *Camillus*, by his Reasons and earnest Exhortations, prevailed with them to stay; soon after which they began to rebuild *Rome*. *Camillus*

Ann. Rom. 366. being made Dictator a third Time, vanquished both the *Æqui* and *Hetrurians*, and

and forced the *Volsci* to submit, after having waged War during seventy Years.

Q. Were not these Wars followed by others?

A. *Camillus* having again opposed the *Volsci*, and being weak in Bed, had *Ann. Rom. 370.* obliged his Soldiers to lift him on Horseback, when engaging the Enemy with unparalleled Vigour, his Troops were animated with so much Bravery, that they routed the *Volsci* entirely. The Inhabitants of *Præneste*, a Town of *Latiūm*, making Incursions to the very Walls of *Rome*, were defeated by *Quintius Cincinnatus*, who was created Dictator on that occasion. Some Years after, great Contests arose about preferring a law for making one of the Consuls out of the *Plebeians*; occasioned by *Fabius Ambustius*, a Tribune, who had married one Daughter to a *Patrician*, and another to a *Plebeian*. This affair occasioned such Heats and Animosities on both sides, from the Year 377 to 382, that no supreme Magistrates were chosen, except Tribunes and *Ædiles*, who kept their Employments all that time, during which there was little better than Anarchy and Confusion. Not long after, *Manilius Capitolinus*, being appointed Dictator, chose *Licinius Stolo* for his Master of Horse, who was the first *Plebeian* that ever obtained this Honour.

Q. Did not the *Gauls* advance again towards *Rome*?

A. News was brought thither, that many Thousands of them were marching from the *Adriatic Sea*, which put the City into such Terror, that all began to lay aside their private Differences, and think of the common Safety. *Camillus* was now appointed Dictator a fifth Time, when reflecting, that the Force of the *Gauls* lay chiefly in their Swords, he therefore furnished his Soldiers with light iron Helmets, and circled their wooden Shields with Brass. Then engaging the *Gauls* at the river *Anio*, he overthrew them, after which the *Romans* began to despise the *Gauls* as much as they had dreaded them before.

Q. Was not this followed by Divisions?

A. The

A. The *Plebeians* again insisting to have *Consuls* chosen from among themselves: Whilst *Camillus* was sitting on the Tribunal, an Officer, sent from the Tribunes of the People, commanded him to leave his Seat, which occasioned a prodigious Tumult; some that were about *Camillus* thrusting the People from the Bench, and the Multitude below crying, "Pull him down." Still *Camillus* would not resign his Office (he being Dictator) but went to the Senate-house, where, after great Contentions, a Law was made, "That one

Ann. Rom. 388. "of the *Consuls* might, for the future, be chosen from among the *Plebeians*."

From this time, the *Military Tribunes* were laid aside for ever. The *Plebeians* were now reconciled to the Senate, and a Temple was built and dedicated to *Concord*.

Q. Did not the *Patricians* prevail to get a new Magistrate created from their Body?

A. This was the *Prætor*, whose Power was very great, he executed the Office of both *Consuls* in their absence. But the principal Duty of the *Prætor*, was to administer Justice in the City or the Provinces, where the *Consuls* could not easily attend. They judged all Causes both civil and criminal, and are called by some *Colleagues of the Consuls*. They were allowed six *Lictors* with their *Fasces*, the *Toga Prætexta*, Curule Chair, Sword, and Spear: under them were Scribes and Notaries to write, and *Accensi* or Bailiffs, to summon the People together. For 100 Years there was but one *Prætor*; afterwards another was appointed, who administered Justice to Foreigners, the former being called *Prætor Urbanus* or *Major*, and the latter *Peregrinus* or *Minor*. These *Prætors* increased gradually, till, in *Augustus's* reign, they were sixteen in number. About the same time, the *Patricians* obtained, that two more *Ædiles* might be elected out of the Nobility to inspect the public Games. They were called *Ædiles Curules*, from their having the Honour to use the Curule Chair, the Name of which is generally derived à *Curru*, because they sat upon them as they rode in Chariots. These *Ædiles* had the same Office and Business as the Commons, but more especially were to take care of the great and public Games, as the

Ludi

Ludi Florales, Circenses, &c. and likewise dramatic Pieces. They also inspected the Building and Repairing of Temples, Theatres, Bathes, and noble Edifices; and seem to have been the Judges of *Licensers* of Writings.

Q. Did not a Pestilence make grievous Havock in Rome?

A. It swept away Multitudes, and among the rest, *Camillus*, who had done such important Services to his Country, and therefore *Ann. Rom.* 390. Honours were bestowed upon him as a second *Romulus*. To appease the Gods, Dramatic Pieces were brought in, and *Ann. Rom.* 391. Actors sent for from *Hetruria*. These Plays were at first very rude, beginning with a plain Country-Dance to a Pipe. The Plague still continuing, a whimsical Ceremony was appointed in order to put a stop to it, viz. the Dictators driving of a brass Nail. *Mantius Capitolinus* was named to the Dignity above-mentioned for that Purpose, and the Nail was drove, with great Ceremony and Superstition, on the right side of *Jupiter's* Temple in the Capitol.

Q. Was not the *Latiternum* also solemnized on occasion of the Plague?

A. Yes. This was always in time of public Calamity, in order to divert the Anger of the Gods, and was as follows: The Statues of the Deities were taken from their Bases or Pedestals, and laid on magnificent Beds, when a sumptuous Entertainment was set before them. *Jupiter, Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, and Neptune* were particularly distinguished in this Festival. There was open House kept in every part of the City; Foreigners of all kinds were provided for gratis; and all Animosity was laid aside.

Q. I desire to be told the heroic Action performed by *M. Curtius*.

A. The Ground opening to a prodigious Depth in the *Forum*, Endeavours were used, but to no purpose, to fill it up. The Soothsayers being consulted about it, replied, that to free the City from the Calamities with which it was threatened, the most valuable Thing they had must be thrown into it; upon which *M. Curtius*, a young Roman

Roman Knight, who had signalized himself in the Field,
putting on his Armour leaped into the
Ann. Rom. 392. Gulph, and immediately it closed up.

The Gauls advancing within three
miles of the City, and being met by
Ann. Rom. 393. the Roman Army, a Gaul of prodigious

Stature challenged any of the Romans
to fight him. T. Manlius accepting the Challenge, en-
countered his Foe, and slew him. Then taking a Tor-
ques or gold Chain from his Neck, he returned, and
was honourably received by Quintius Pennus the Dicta-
tor. From this Action Manlius and his Posterity had the
surname of Torquatus. The Gauls were so much dis-
couraged at this Action that they immediately fled.

Q. Had not T. Manlius behaved before with great Generosity towards his Father?

A. Though the latter had treated him very ill, and kept him in the Country, in a kind of Exile, among his Slaves; nevertheless hearing that Pomponius the Tribune had arraigned his Father for his Severity, and the Rigour with which he had levied the Troops, he went to this Magistrate, and putting a Dagger to his Throat, made him promise with an Oath, to desist from the Impeachment.

Q. Did not the Gauls again infest the Romans?

A. Yes; but were defeated, Sulpitius
Ann. Rom. 396. Petrus being Dictator. Two Tribes

were now added to the twenty-five. The Hetrurians and Falisci marching against the Romans,

Martius Rutilus, a Plebeian, was ap-
Ann. Rom. 398. pointed Dictator, who chose Plautius

Proculus, also a Plebeian, his Master of Horse, which occasioned great Disturbances, though those Generals had triumphed over the Enemy; in-

much that the Patricians, at the next
Ann. Rom. 399. Election, took away the Consulship

from the Commons, which, however, was restored to them about four Years after. Martius

Rutilus, the late Dictator, stood for the Office of Censor, which again gave rise to Feuds between the Patricians and Plebeians; but the latter gained their Point, and

Rutilus

Rutilus was the first Commoner who possessed that Employment. The *Gauls* Ann. Rom. 402. again opposing *Rome*, *Camillus* led a powerful Army against them, when a *Gaul*, remarkable for his Size and the Richness of his Arms, challenged any of the *Romans* to fight him. *M. Valerius* accepting the Challenge, as they were advancing to engage, a Crow came and perched upon his right Arm, and afterwards, whilst they were in close Combat, the Bird struck the *Gaul* in such a manner with his Beak, Wings, and Talons, that he could not see his Enemy, by which means *Valerius* gained the Victory, and from thence himself was called *Corvus*, and his Posterity *Corvini*. The two Armies coming to a Battle, the *Gauls* were entirely routed; after which *Valerius Corvus*, for his high Deserts, was created Consul at 23 Years of Age. This Year a League was concluded with the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, who came on purpose to desire Amity between the two Powers.

Q. What happened from this Period till the War with the *Samnites*?

A. The *Arunci*, a People beyond the *Volsci*, were defeated by *Furius Camillus* Ann. Rom. 408. the Dictator. Some Prodigies being observed, the *Romans* were so superstitiously fearful, that they created a Dictator (Ann. Rom. 409. *Valerius Publicola*) to institute certain Feasts and Holidays for the appeasing of the Gods, and averting the impending Judgments; and this was the first Dictator created on that Account. Most of the Wars which the *Romans* had hitherto waged were called *Defensive*, which yet increased their Dominions; so that they now contained more than double the Extent of what they were at the Expulsion of their Kings.

Q. Who were the *Samnites*?

A. A robust and warlike People (to whom seven other Nations were subordinate) descended from the *Sabines*, and dwelling at above an hundred Miles from *Rome*; in that part of *Italy* now called *Naples*. This War was begun at the request of the *Campanians*. The Armies meeting

meeting in the Field, the *Romans* gained a signal Victory over the *Samnites*, 30000 of them being slain. *Valerius* and *Cornelius* were Consuls at this time, and *P. Decius*, a Tribune in the Army, having signalized himself greatly in this Campaign, was highly honoured by the Senate and People for his important Services. Soon after, a Party of *Roman* Soldiers being sent to *Capua*, to secure that Country from the Insults of the *Samnites*, they were so delighted with the Pleasures of *Capua*, that they formed a Conspiracy to murder the Inhabitants, and seize upon the Town. The Plot being discovered, the Soldiers fled, and afterwards united in a Body, marched in a hostile manner towards *Rome*; but upon the

Ann. Rom. 411. Approach of *Valerius Corvus* the Dictator, the Rebels laid down their Arms, and were pardoned.

Q. On what occasion was War declared against the *Latines*?

A. Chiefly on their insisting that half of the Consuls and Senators should be chosen out of their Nation. The *Romans* not admitting this, marched into the Field, when strict Orders were given, upon pain of Death, that no Man should fight without Leave. *Manlius Torquatus* and *Decius Mus* were Consuls, and had solemnly agreed, that in whatsoever Part the *Roman* Army might happen to be distressed, the commander of that Part should devote himself to the Gods, and die for his Country. The Armies engaging, *Decius*, according to his Promise, courageously sacrificed himself for his Country. And the Son of *Manlius* the other Consul, having advanced with a Body of Horse to reconnoitre the Enemy, was challenged by *Metius*, Captain of the *Tusculans*. He accepted it, slew *Metius*, and brought away his Spoils, which he laid at his Father's Feet, who caused him to be put to Death, for fighting without Orders. The *Latines* were vanquished, and sued for Peace, which was accordingly granted them. They afterwards revolted again, but were defeated by *Æmilius* and *Publius* the Consuls. *Furius Camillus*, and *C. Menius* being Consuls, *Petrum*, a City of the *Latines*, was taken by Storm; after which

the

the Generals conquered all *Latium*, whose Inhabitants had different Conditioas of Peace granted them. For these Conquests, the Consuls had Statues set up in their Honour in the *Forum*. From *Antium*, the Capital of the *Volsci* (which was now made a *Roman Colony*) several Ships were brought into the Arsenal at *Rome*; others burnt, and with their *Rostra*, or Beaks, the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations in the *Forum* was adorned; whence that was afterwards called *Rostra*.

About this time *Minucia*, a Vestal Virgin. *Ann. Rom.* 416. was buried alive.

Q. What were the three remarkable Laws enacted about this time?

A. That the *Plebiscita* should bind the *Quirites* or Citizens of all Ranks and Degrees whatsoever.—That such Laws as were made in the *Centuriata Comitia*, should be proposed or passed by the Senate, before they were voted by the People.—That whereas it had been enacted before, that both the Censors might be *Plebeians*, now one, at least, was ordered to be so.—The first of these Laws altered the very Frame of the State, and very much impaired the Majesty of it.

Q. Was there any remarkable Transaction till the Year 422?

A. None, if we except that *Valerius Corvus* took *Cales*, and placed a Colony in it. But in the Consulship of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *C. Valerius Potius Flaccus*, a Conspiracy was discovered to the Senate by a female Slave, viz. of several Women of Quality who had undertaken to poison their Husbands. Twenty of them being examined, with regard to the Quality of the Draughts found in their Custody, stoutly denied their being Poisoned; but being forced to try the Experiment upon themselves, they died soon after. Besides these, one hundred and seventy were executed publicly; and among those who were thus dispatched by their Wives, were the Consuls above-mentioned. On this occasion the Ceremony of the Dictator's driving a Nail was revived. For the three or four succeeding Years, the Romans warred with success against the Inhabitants.

tants of *Privernum* in the *Volsian* State, and those of *Palæopolis*, a Town in *Campania*.

Q. Did not a remarkable Incident happen about this time with regard to a Debtor?

A. *Papirius* had given himself a Slave to *Publius*, a griping Usurer, to work out his Father's Debts. The Slave being young and beautiful, *Publius* attempted to abuse him after a shocking manner; and upon his refusal, scourged him barbarously. In this condition *Papirius* fled to the People, who thereupon procured new Laws to be enacted in favour of Debtors, and these were immediately set at liberty in all Parts of the City.

Q. What considerable Incidents happened in the Prosecution of the War against the *Samnites*?

A. *Papirius Cursor*, who was appointed Dictator, being obliged to return to *Rome*, to renew his *Auspicia*, left a strict order to *Fabius*, the other General, not to stir out of the Trenches in his absence. However, *Fabius* finding a great Advantage, engaged the Enemy, and made a vast slaughter of them. The Dictator returning, would have put *Fabius* to death, but the People rescued him. A Battle being fought, the *Samnites* were vanquished, and forced to sue for Peace.

Q. In what manner was the *Roman* Army afterwards treated with Ignominy by the *Samnites*?

A. *Titus Veturius* and *Spurius Postbu-*
Ann. Rom. 431. mius being Consuls, were by the Stratagem of ten *Samnite* Soldiers disguised in the Habit of Shepherds, drawn to a narrow Pass, called *Furcæ Caudinæ*, and so blocked up, that it was impossible for them to get out without being cut to pieces. *Pontius*, the General of the Enemy, not knowing how to act in the Transports of his Joy, consulted *Herennius*, his Father, who advised him, either to let the *Roman* Soldiers go unransomed, in order to gain the Friendship of their Republic; or else to put them all to the Sword, and so weaken a formidable Enemy. But the Son, instead of following his Father's prudent Counsel, thought it most advisable to disarm them, and make them pass under the Yoke. The Consuls submitted to this Ignominy, to save the Army, and concluded a Treaty. The whole City

City of Rome, was greatly afflicted at this shameful Disaster, and the Consuls refusing to act or appear abroad, the State fell for some time into a kind of *Interregnum*, all Places echoing with Cries and Lamentations. However, the Year after, the *Romans* considering that the Treaty above-mentioned had been extorted from them, they broke it, and sent *Papirius Cursor*, the Consul, against them, who treated the *Samnites* (after vanquishing them several times) in the same ignominious manner as they had done the *Romans*; after which the City of *Lucretia* surrendered; and the 600 Hostages (given up by the *Romans* at the *Caudine Treaty*) were delivered, and a two Years Truce was granted the *Samnites*. But this People afterwards breaking it, were vanquished, and a prodigious Slaughter of them made, by *L. Æmilius* *Ann. Rom. 437.* the Dictator; and the next Year by *Fabius Maximus* *Ann. Rom. 438.* the Dictator, who enlarged the *Roman Dominions* considerably on that side.

Q. What were the most remarkable Transactions from this Period till the Year 458 ?

A. A dangerous Plot being discovered at *Capua*, was suppressed by *C. Mænius* *Ann. Rom. 439.* the Dictator. This Year and the next, War was again waged with the *Samnites*, *Ann. Rom. 441.* and *Hetrurians*. *Appius Claudius* being one of the Censors, made the famous Road, called *Via Appia*; and the Channel which conveyed Water from the River *Anio* to the *Aventine Hill* in *Rome*. The *Hetrurians* received a most signal Defeat from the *Romans*, *Papirius* being Dictator *Ann. Rom. 443.*; and the *Samnites*, after many and great Losses, obtained Peace. Under the Dictatorship of *Valerius Maximus*, the Power of the *Hetrurians* was entirely *Ann. Rom. 452.* broke, and all their Territories reduced to the *Roman Subjection*, and the *Umbrians* were likewise very much weakened. About this time, the Tribunes complaining that all the Priests and Augurs were created from among the *Patricians*, insisted that the *Plebeians* should also share in those Employments, which the Senate consented to without any great Difficulty; so

that whereas, till now, there were but four chief Priests and as many Augurs (answering to the four Tribes in the City) four more were added on this occasion, and to those five more from the Body of the *Ann. Rom. 454.* *Plebeians.* There being a *Lustrum* this Year, no less than 262322 free Citizens were censed.

Q. Did not *Decius Mus* perform a very memorable Action, in a Battle fought against the *Samnites* and other People of *Italy*?

A. He was a Colleague, at this time, *Ann. Rom. 458.* with *Fabius Maximus* the Consul. In the Heat of the Fight, *Decius Mus*, seeing his Party retire, and in great danger of being vanquished, he followed the signal Example his Father had set him above forty Years before, and in the most solemn manner devoted himself to the Gods; upon which, plunging into the thickest of the Enemy with incredible Bravery and Resolution, he saved his Army, but fell himself a Sacrifice. About this Period, the City of *Rome* being greatly infested with the Plague, the *Roman* Ambassadors obtained of the Inhabitants of *Epidaurus* (a City of *Pelponnesus*) leave to carry away *Aesculapius*, who was said to have revealed himself under the form of a Serpent, and whose bare Presence was thought capable of driving away the Pestilence. The Serpent being brought to *Rome*, a Temple was there built in his Honour. After various Successes, the

Ann. Rom. 461. *Samnites* were forced to sue for Peace, *Pontius* their famous General having been taken and slain; but breaking

Ann. Rom. 462. their League again in less than a Year's time, they were vanquished by *Dentatus* the Consul. 'Tis related, that the *Samnites* attempting to bribe him by presents, he answered, " 'Tis more glorious to command over rich Men, than to be one's self oppressed by Riches, and subservient." The *Triumviri*

Capitales, or Keepers of the public Jails, *Ann. Rom. 464.* were now created, who had Power to punish Malefactors (as our Masters of the Houses of Correction) and had eight *Lictors* for this pur-

purpose. The *Plebeians* on account of their very heavy Debts, and their violent Quarrels with the *Patricians*, withdrew to the Hill *Janiculum*; when the Senate, to crush this dangerous Tumult, appointed Q. *Hortensius* Dictator, who, by many persuasive Arts, at last prevailed with them to return, assuring them, "That their Plebiscita should have the Force of Laws, and bind the whole Body politic." This was called *Lex Hortensa*, tho' the same Law, in effect, had been granted twice before. The *Lucani*, a People living not far from the Extremity of Italy, were vanquished by the *Romans*.

Q. Why did the *Romans* declare War against the *Tarentines*?

A. Because the latter had plundered several of their Ships, and insulted their Ambassadors. The *Tarentines* lived at the Distance of 240 Miles from *Rome*, and were the last of the *Italians* who made a vigorous Opposition to the *Romans*. After waging War for some time (in conjunction with the *Lucani*, *Messapii*, *Brutii*, *Apulii*, and *Samnites*) they, at last, were in such distresses, as to be forced to desire the Succour of *Pyrrhus*,

King of *Epirus*; which embarked the *Romans* in the most considerable War, they, till then, had ever been engaged in. *Pyrrhus*, crossing into *Italy* with an Army of 3000 Horse, 20000 Foot, 2000 Archers, 500 Slingers, and 20 Elephants, (a great Part of which was dispersed in his Passage) he landed at *Tarentum*, whence, without waiting till all the confederate Forces were ready, he offered *Levinus* the Consul, to be Mediator between the *Romans* and *Tarentines*; to which *Levinus* answered, "That the *Romans* did not desire his Mediation, and were not afraid of his Enmity;" and taking his Messengers, he ordered them to be led thro' the midst of the Camp, and then bid them go tell their Sovereign what they had seen. *Pyrrhus*, advancing afterwards to the Plain near *Herculaea*, reconnoitred the Enemy's Army.

Q. Did they not come soon after to an Engagement?

A. Yes. The Victory was long doubtful, and *Pyrrhus* himself had a narrow Escape. He directed the Battle

with great Resolution and Presence of Mind, performing the Duty of a common Soldier, as well as the Functions of a General. In the Heat of the Engagement his Horse was slain under him, which obliged him to change Armour with an Officer near him, who, being taken for the King, was killed, and his Armour seized, which struck such a Terror into his Soldiers, that had like to have lost him the Victory. At last the *Epirots* prevailed, which was owing to the Elephants forcing among the *Romans*, whose Horses were frightened with the Smell and Size of those Animals. *Pyrrhus* lost 13000 Men, the *Romans* 15000, and 1800 were taken Prisoners, all whom *Pyrrhus* treated very generously. He gave their Dead honourable Interment; and, observing that they were all wounded before, and that their Countenances looked stern and menacing even in Death, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and cried, " How easily might the whole " World be conquered, were the *Romans* commanded " by *Pyrrhus*!" After this Victory, *Pyrrhus* having joined the *Samnites*, the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, advanced to *Prænestē*, within 18 Miles of *Rome*, laying waste all before him. Still the *Romans* were not disheartened, nor would they even remove *Lævinus* from his Command, tho' many People censured his Conduct. *Fabricius* among others, said, that this Overthrow ought not to be ascribed to the *Roman* Soldiers, but to their General; and that 'twas not the *Epirots* who had defeated the *Romans*, but *Pyrrhus* who had vanquished *Lævinus*.

Q. What did *Pyrrhus* after this?

A. Being desirous of Peace, he sent to *Rome*, *Cineas*, a Scholar of *Demosthenes*, and so great a Rhetorician, that the King owned, he had stormed more Cities by his Tongue, than he (*Pyrrhus*) had ever won by his Arms. The Eloquence and insinuating Carriage of this Ambassador, wrought very powerfully on the Minds of the Senate; when a Speech made by *Appius Claudius*, who had got himself carried to the Assembly (altho' his very advanced Age, and the loss of his Sight, had made him withdraw from all public Business) caused the Senators to tell *Cineas*, that in Case *Pyrrhus* was desirous of having the *Romans* for his Friends, he must defer the making

ing of any Overtures of that kind, till such Time as he had withdrawn his Forces out of *Italy*. *Pyrrbus* having asked *Cineas* what he thought of *Rome*, he answered, " That the Senate appeared to him as an Assembly of Kings; and that the People resembled the *Hydra*, their Number increasing with their Overthrow."

Q. Did not the *Romans* send to *Pyrrbus* about the ransoming of the Prisoners?

A. They did, and among others *Caius Fabricius*, a Man equally revered for his Virtue and Courage, and especially for his professed Poverty. He had been Consul, and had gained many signal Victories over the *Sannites* and other Nations. *Fabricius* being come to *Pyrrbus*, who had been informed of his Poverty, was received by him with the highest Marks of Distinction. The Speech of this *Roman* to *Pyrrbus*, when that Monarch made him the most advantageous Offers, shew's so noble and uncommon a Spirit of Disinterestedness, and abounds with such excellent Instructions, that it may not be improper, tho' so prolix to introduce it on this Occasion. " It would be needless (says *Fabricius* to *Pyrrbus*) for me to mention the Experience I may have in State-affairs, as well as in those of a private Nature, since you have been told these Things by others. You also seem to be so well informed of my Poverty, that there will be no occasion for me to acquaint you, that I have neither Money to put out to Interest, nor Slaves to produce me any Income: All my Wealth consisting in a House of little or no Appearance, and in a small Field which yields sufficient for my Subsistence. However, should you imagine that Poverty makes my Condition inferior to that of all other *Romans*; and that, altho' I fulfil the several Duties which constitute the Man of Honour, I yet am not so well respected because I am poor; give me leave to say, that you have not a just Idea of me, whether you yourself may have formed it, or have been told so by others. Tho' I am not possessed of a considerable Estate, I never thought, nor can yet think, that my Poverty ever did me the least Injury, when I consider myself as one who shares in the public Posts, or as a private Man. Did my

" Country, because of my Indigence, ever refuse me any
 " of those glorious Posts which are the noblest Object
 " of exalted Spirits? I am raised to the highest Di-
 " nities; I am placed at the Head of the most illustri-
 " ous Embassies; I assist at the most august Ceremo-
 " nies; and am intrusted with the most holy Functions
 " of divine Worship. When Affairs of the highest Im-
 " portance are to be debated, I have my Seat in Coun-
 " cils, and give my Opinion in them. I am upon a
 " level with those who boast the greatest Wealth and
 " Power; and if I have the least Cause for Complaint,
 " 'tis that I am too much applauded, and too highly
 " honoured by my Fellow-citizens.

" During my Enjoyment of these several Employ-
 " ments, I am not obliged, any more than other Ro-
 " mans, to expend my own Money. *Rome*, in raising its
 " Citizens to the highest Offices, does not impoverish
 " and ruin them; for the City indulges all the Succours
 " necessary, and that with the utmost Liberality and
 " Magnificence, to those who enjoy the several Posts;
 " it not being with *Rome*, as with many other Cities,
 " where the Government is extremely poor, whilst
 " many of its Members are immensely rich. We are
 " all wealthy so long as the Commonwealth enjoys
 " Affluence; because it is rich only for us. By ad-
 " mitting indiscriminately to public Employments the
 " rich as well as poor, according as it judges Men
 " worthy of them, it thereby reduces all the Citizens
 " to a level; and does not know any other Difference
 " or Distinction, than that of Virtue and Merit.

" With regard to my Fortune, so far from repining
 " at it; I look upon myself as the happiest of Men,
 " when I compare my Condition to that of the Rich;
 " and I even feel inwardly, on this occasion, a kind of
 " Complacency and pride. My little Field, though not
 " over-fruitful, furnishes me sufficiently with all Things
 " necessary, provided I do but bestow the proper Cul-
 " ture, and preserve the Produce of it. Do I need any
 " Thing more? All Food, when seasoned by Hunger,
 " is agreeable to me. When I am parched with Thirst,
 " 'tis Luxury to quench it; and, when I am fatigued,
 " I taste

" I taste the Sweets of Sleep with exquisite Pleasure. I
 " contest myself with a Suit that shelters me from the
 " Inclemencies of Winter; and, among the several
 " Moveables which may be of like Use, the meanest
 " always suit me best.

" 'Twould be unjust in me to accuse Fortune, since
 " she furnishes me with all that Nature requires. Su-
 " perfluities, indeed, she has not lavished upon me,
 " but then she has not inspired me with the Desire of
 " them. What Cause have I then for Complaint?
 " 'Tis indeed true, that, for want of this Affluence, I
 " am incapacitated from assisting the necessitous, which
 " is the only Advantage for which the Opulent may
 " justly be envied. But as I allow the Commonwealth
 " and my Friends a Share in the little I possess; as I
 " do my Fellow-citizens all the Service in my Power;
 " and, in a word, exert myself to the utmost, what
 " have I to reproach myself with?

" The Thought of accumulating Riches never once
 " entered my Mind. Being employed so many Years in
 " the Government, I had a thousand Opportunities of
 " amassing great Treasures without the least Reproach
 " to my Integrity. Could a more favourable One be de-
 " sired than that which presented itself some Years since?
 " When invested with the Consular Dignity, I was order-
 " ed to march at the Head of a powerful Army against
 " the Samnites, the Lucanians and Brutii. I laid waste
 " a large Tract of Ground, I defeated the Enemy in se-
 " veral Battles; stormed many rich Cities, enriched the
 " whole Army with the Plunder of them; paid to every
 " Citizen the Monies he had disbursed towards defray-
 " ing the Expences of the War; and after being ho-
 " noured with the Triumph, deposited 400 Talents in
 " the public Treasury.

" Now, after having neglected so considerable a Booty,
 " any Part of which I might have applied to my own
 " Use; after contemning Riches that have been so justly
 " acquired; and sacrificed, to a Love of Glory, Spoils
 " taken from the Enemy, in Imitation of *Valerius Publi-*
cola, and many other great Personages, who by their
 " generous Disregard of Wealth, carried the Power of

" *Rome* to so high a Pitch ; would it become me, O
 " King, to accept of your proffered Gold ? What Op-
 " nion would Mankind entertain of me, and what Ex-
 " ample should I set to my Fellow-citizens ? At my Re-
 " turn to *Rome*, how would it be possible for me to with-
 " stand their Sight, much less their Reproaches ? Would
 " not our Censors, those venerable Magistrates, whose
 " Business it is to keep a watchful Eye over the Man-
 " ners and Behaviour of the several Individuals, oblige
 " me to inform the whole City of the Gifts you now
 " would force me to accept ? I therefore advise you to
 " keep your Riches, and to leave me in the Possession of
 " my Poverty and Reputation." On the Morrow, *Pyr-
 rbus*, trying all Methods to unsettle *Fabricius's* Mind,
 ordered one of his largest Elephants, compleatly armed,
 to be placed behind the Hangings ; and, in the midst of
 their Conversation, the Tapestry was drawn aside, when
 the Elephant, raising his Trunk over *Fabricius's* Head,
 set up a hideous Roar. *Fabricius*, tho' he had never
 seen this Animal, was not in the least intimidated, but
 turning gently about, and smiling, " Neither your Gold
 " (says he) yesterday, nor your terrible Animal to-day,
 " can make the least Impression upon me." *Pyrbus* was
 so well pleased with *Fabricius*, that he offered him the
 first Employments in his Council and in his Army, in
 case he would come over to him after the Peace : How-
 ever the *Roman* still refused ; when the Monarch, amaz-
 ed at the Greatness of his Mind, released the Prisoners,
 and dismissed *Fabricius*.

Q. Are there no other Instances of his great Disin-
 terestedness ?

A. He also had refused the Presents which, as was ob-
 served above, were offered him by the *Samnites*. Their
 Ambassadors having expatiated upon, and thanked him
 for the important Services he had done their Country,
 after the Conclusion of the Peace, desired him to accept
 of a large Sum of Money, which they were ordered to
 present him ; especially as he was in want of much useful
 Furniture, and had not an Equipage suitable to his Rank
 and Merit. At these Words *Fabricius*, laying his Fingers
 successively on his Ears, his Eyes, Nose, Mouth, and
 Stomach,

Stomach, said to the Ambassadors, “ So long as I shall
“ be able to command the several Parts I now touch, I
“ shall not stand in need of any Thing. As therefore
“ I am in no want of Money myself, far be it from me
“ to accept of any from those who I know are in want
“ of some.” *Fabricius* had no other Pieces of Plate,
but a silver Cup and Salt-seller, and lived upon Herbs
which he himself set and cultivated.

Q. Was not the War continued?

A. *Sulpicius Saverrio* and *Decius Mus*

the Consuls, being set against *Pyrrhus*, *Ann. Rom.* 474.
came to an Engagement about the City
of *Asculum*. Both Armies behaved very gallantly; but
Historians are divided with regard to the Issue of it.
Some tell us, that the *Romans* lost 6000 Men, and the
Epirots 4000: However, the most probable Opinion is,
that the former were worsted; but on the other side,
Pyrrhus's Army was so much weakened, that he did not
much desire to continue the War, since he made the
following Answer to those who came to congratulate
him on that occasion: “ Should we gain such another
“ Victory, we are undone:” For by this time he had
lost a great part of the Troops he had brought from
Epirus, and most of his Commanding Officers.

Q. What was the Success of the next Campaign?

A. *Fabricius* above-mentioned being chosen Consul
with *Æmilius Papus*, they set out upon their March; when
the Armies being come within a little Distance one of the
other, *Pyrrhus's* Physician came in the dead of Night
to *Fabricius*, and promised to poison his Sovereign in
case the *Romans* would give him a large Reward. The
Consul, so far from accepting the Proposal, loaded him
with Chains, and sent him to *Pyrrhus*; informing that
King, at the same time, of the Treachery of his Phy-
sician. *Pyrrhus*, astonished at the Generosity of his Ad-
versary, cried, “ This is the *Fabricius*, whom it would
“ be more difficult to turn from the Paths of Virtue
“ and Honour, than the Sun from its Course.” Such
was the noble Spirit of the *Romans* in these Ages, when
every Individual was more studious of the public Wel-
fare, than of his private Advantage. *Pyrrhus* after-
wards

wards caused his Physician to be executed ; and again endeavoured, but in vain, to make Peace with the *Romans*, who still insisted that he should first leave *Italy*. *Pyrrhus* was in great Perplexity, when Ambassadors came from *Sicily*, to intreat him to free that Island from the *Carthaginians*, and several petty Tyrants. He therefore embarked for that Country with 2500 Horse and 30000 Foot, after having been two Years and four Months in *Italy*.

Q. What Fortune had *Pyrrhus* in *Sicily* ?

A. He was successful at first ; but those who had implored his Assistance, growing soon weary of him, sought for other Masters. In this unhappy Juncture, Advice came very seasonably to *Pyrrhus* that the *Tarentines*, the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, were in extreme want of his Succour, which furnished him with a specious pretence to declare, that he did not abandon *Sicily*, but was going to assist other Allies. The *Carthaginians* annoyed him greatly in his Passage, and the *Mamertines* at his Landing. About this time there happened a dreadful Pestilence in *Rome* : and some time after, *Curius Dentatus* and *Cornelius Lentulus* being Consuls, and the former going to raise new Levies, was opposed by the People, who refused to enlist themselves. *Curius* resolving to go through with his Design, ordered the Name of each Tribe to be put into a Box, and the Lot falling on the *Pollian* Tribe, the first Man who was drawn of this Tribe, was summoned ; but he not appearing, the Consul sold his Goods ; and, upon his appealing to the Tribunes, he sold the Man too, saying, “ The Government did not want a Member who refused all Obedience to it.”

Q. What happened to *Pyrrhus* afterwards ?

A. Presently after his Arrival at *Tarentum* with 30000 Foot and 3000 Horse, having increased his Army by new Levies, he marched against the *Romans*, who, under *Curius Dentatus*, came up with him at *Beneventum*, and gave him a signal Defeat, he losing 23000 Men and his Camp. This was not only very much admired by the *Romans*, but proved of great Service to them afterwards, they thereby learning to encamp regularly ; as by fighting

fighting with that brave and experienced Commander, they had greatly improved themselves in the other Parts of the military Science. *Curius Dentatus* was honoured with a magnificent Triumph. As for *Pyrrhus*, he bore his Defeat with an undaunted Resolution ; and receiving Letters from *Greece* and *Aisa*, he called the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, assuring them that they would soon have Succours ; which Report kept the *Romans* in their Camp : When taking this Opportunity, he, the next Night, crossed unmolested into *Epirus* with 8000 Foot and 500 Horse; *Ann. Rom.* 479. after leaving, for form Sake, a Garrison in *Tarentum*. *Pyrrhus* afterwards engaging in new Expeditions, had various Success in the Battles fought by him against *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*; against the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Inhabitants of *Argos*, who opposed him in their Streets, where he was killed, about the Year of *Rome* 480, by a Tile which a Woman threw at him from her Window.

Q. Were not the *Tarentines* subjected about this time?

A. Having implored the *Carthaginians* for Aid, and engaging the *Romans*, they were defeated by *Papirius* the Consul, who then possessed himself of *Tarentum*, and demolished the Walls *Ann. Rom.* 481. of it. The same Year an End was put to the *Samnite War*. After *Pyrrhus's* Defeat, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, sent an Ambassador to congratulate the *Romans* on their Success, and to enter into an Alliance with them. The *Romans*, to return the Compliment, sent an Embassy to *Egypt*, where they met with a most gracious Reception. About four Years after, Silver was first coined at *Rome*; *Ann. Rom.* 484. whereas Brass only had been used till then ; the *Romans* having increased their Riches with their Conquests, and had found large Quantities of Silver in a Castle of the *Samnites*. The Number of the Quæstors were now increased to eight. Not long after, the *Lucani*, the *Picentes*, the *Umbri* and *Salentini*, being reduced, the *Romans* *Ann. Rom.* 489. thereby completed the Conquest of all *Italy*.

BOOK II. Chap. III.

From the first Punic or Carthaginian War, to the Conclusion of the second.

Containing 64 Years.

QWHO were the *Carthaginians*?

A. A People who reigned over most of that Part of *Africa* which is now called *Barbary*. They formed a very powerful Republic, their Dominions extending about 2000 Miles in Length; and they possessing the Island of *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, the greatest Part of *Sicily*, and other lesser Isles.

Q. Why did the *Romans* make War against them?

A. The *Mammertines*, who were Soldiers of *Campania* in *Italy*, having been called to succour *Ann. Rom. 482.* the Inhabitants of *Messana*, now called *Messina*, were so much delighted with this City, that, in order to have the entire Enjoyment of it, they murdered all the Men, and seized upon their Wives and Estates. In the Year 488, *Hiero*, who, after the Departure of *Pyrrhus*, had been appointed General of the *Syracusan* Army; and by the Victory he won over the *Mammertines*, had possessed himself of Part of *Sicily*, marched against *Messana*. The *Mammertines* being vigorously pursued by this General, part of them addressed the *Carthaginians*, and the rest the *Romans*, for Succour. The *Carthaginians*, having Forces ready in the Island, arrived first; when those who had invited them, put them in possession of the Citadel. At *Rome*, the Senate scrupled to support a Body of Traitors, who were known to be public Robbers. But the People being jealous of the great Power of the *Carthaginians*, and ambitious of conquering *Sicily* at any rate, were absolutely determined to snatch this Opportunity, without regarding the Justice of the Alliance, and the Protection they were desired to give. Upon pretence therefore of succouring the Inhabitants, or rather the Rebels,

Rebels of *Messana*, the *Romans* declared War against the *Carthaginians*.

Q. In what Manner was it carried on ?

A. *Appius Claudius*, one of the Consuls, was immediately sent to *Sicily* with an Army and a small Fleet, After passing the Straits between that Island and *Italy* with considerable Difficulty, he was so successful as to raise the Siege of *Messana* *Ann. Rom. 489.* in a short Time. He afterwards defeated both *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* in two Battles ; and returning to *Rome*, was honoured with a splendid Triumph, which was the first that ever was obtained on account of foreign Wars. About the same Time *D. Junius Brutus* first introduced the cruel Custom of Gladiators fighting in public ; to heighten, as was falsely supposed, the Solemnity of Funerals. The following Year, both the Consuls crossing into *Sicily* with all their Legions, *Hiero* was so much terrified at his being besieged in *Syracuse*, that he concluded an Alliance with the *Romans*, upon condition of paying 100 Talents of Silver.

Q. What did the *Romans* next ?

A. They besieged and took *Agrigentum*, and defeated *Hannibal** the *Carthaginian* Admiral, who was come to relieve it. The *Romans* were successful on Land, but their Force at Sea being very inconsiderable, and the *Carthaginians* Masters of it ; the latter thereby prevailed with the maritime Towns in *Sicily* to revolt to them. *Italy* being grievously infested with the *Carthaginian* Fleet, whilst *Africa* was out of all Danger, the *Romans* were resolved to apply themselves diligently to naval Affairs ; when, happily meeting with a *Carthaginian* Vessel, which had been driven by a Tempest on the Coast of *Italy*, they, from this Model, built about 100 Vessels of five Oars of *Ann. Rom. 492.* a side, and 20 of three. These Vessels were as heavy as those of the Enemy were light ; and they fitted them out as well as they could after an odd manner, teaching their Men to handle and move the Oar on dry Land.

* This was not the Great *Hannibal*.

Q. Who

Q. Who were appointed Admirals of this Fleet ?
A. Cornelius and Duillius the two Consuls. They were ordered to sail to Sicily, and there carry on the War. These Romans boldly ventured to go and attack an Enemy, who, for many Ages, had possessed the Empire of the Seas ; a Circumstance that has been greatly admired by all Historians. Cornelius, parting from his Company with only 17 Gallies, to reduce the Island Lipara, was overpowered by a Fleet of Cartbaginians, taken Prisoner, sent to Caribage, and put to death.

*Ann. Rom. 493.
and 5th of the
Punic War.*

But Duillius had much better Success, he defeating a Cartaginian Fleet of 50 Sail, and afterwards taking the same number. He owed this Victory to his

Sagacity and Judgment ; for as the Roman Vessels were very unwieldly in comparison of those of the Enemy, and their Sailors infinitely inferior to those of the Cartbaginians ; the Consul invented a grapping Engine, (whereof he had a great number on board his Fleet) by which boarding the Enemy's Ships, they fought as on Shore, and thereby gain'd the Victory ; then pursuing it, the Romans raised the Siege of Ægestæ, and took Marcella by Storm. The Senate were overjoyed at this Victory, so that they not only granted Duillius the Honours of a naval Triumph, (he being the first who obtained it) but decreed that he should be allowed the Privilege of being attended, whenever he supped in the City, with Flanbeaux and Music. A Rostral Pillar (so called from the Peaks of Ships with which they were adorned) was erected in his Honour, with a noble Inscription ; which Pillar is now standing in Rome. We are told a remarkable Circumstance concerning Biblia, a Woman very conspicuous for her Virtue and Chastity, and Wife to this Consul. Duillius being one Day reproached with having a stinking Breath, asked his Wife why she had not informed him of it ; to which she replied, " I thought it had been the same with all men."

Q. What Success had the Romans the following Year ?
A. Very little on Land. But the Year after, they invaded the Islands of Corsica and Sardinia. Hanno, the Cartaginian General, defending the City of Olbia in

the

the latter Isle, was defeated and slain by *Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, who gave him very honourable Interment. This Victory was followed by another over *Hannibal*, who was come with new Recruits from *Carthage*. After this Overthrow, the unfortunate Admiral was crucified by some of his own Soldiers, who had survived the Defeat. A noble Action was performed not long after in *Sicily*, by *Calpurnius Flemma*, a Tribune of the Army, who with 300 choice Men, resolutely withstood the whole Force of the *Carthaginians*, and was the only one who survived; he being miserably wounded, and covered with dead Bodies. The next Year, *Attilius Regulus*, the Consul, won the Islands *Lipara*, and *Melita*, since called *Malta*, famous for the Shipwreck of St. Paul.

Q. Did not the *Romans* make *Africa* the Seat of the War?

A. Under the Consulship of *Manlius* and *Attilius Regulus*, the *Romans* put to Sea, with a Fleet of 330 Sail, which engaged that of the *Carthaginians* consisting of 350 Vessels, commanded by *Hamilcar*, who fled, after losing 54 Vessels, besides 50 which were sunk. The *Romans* lost but 24, after which, making a Descent on *Africa*, they won the City of *Clupea*. The Consuls advanced up into the Country, laying all waste before them; and after storming several Cities. *Manlius* returned victorious to *Rome*, with 27000 Prisoners. *Regulus* was ordered to continue, as Pro-Consul, in *Africa*, where he fought three *Carthaginian* Commanders, defeated them, and killed 18000 of their Men, took 5000 Prisoners and 8 Elephants, and obliged 74 Cities to submit to his Arms. 'Tis related, that *Regulus* being encamped on the River *Bragada*, was forced to engage a Serpent of a monstrous Size; which he, at last, by the vigorous Assistance of his Army, and the Help of the battering Engines, slew; and afterwards sent its Skin, which was 120 Feet long, to *Rome*.

Q. What did the *Carthaginians* after this Defeat?

A. They sued for Peace, which *Regulus* refusing to grant, but on the most severe Conditions, they had Recourse:

course to the *Lacedæmonians*, who sent them *Xantippus*, a very brave and experienced General. *Xantippus*, observing that the *Carthaginians* were much superior in Cavalry, and could reap great Advantage by their Elephants, caused them to descend into the Plain, where *Regulus*, who had contemn'd this *Spartan* Captain, was entirely defeated and taken by the Enemy, who treated him with great Inhumanity. *Xantippus*, their Deliverer, met with worse Usage : For the *Carthaginians*, envying his Glory, and unable to bear the Thoughts that they should owe their Safety to the *Spartans*; upon Pretence of conducting that General, and his Attendants, back with Honour to their Country, with a numerous Convoy of Ships ; gave private Orders to have them all put to Death in their Passage ; as tho' they could for ever have buried in the Waves with him, the Memory of his Services, and their horrid Ingratitude to so excellent a Commander. The *Romans* were after this besieged in *Clupea*, but made so vigorous a Resistance, that the Enemy were forced to raise the Siege.

Q. What happened under the Consulate of *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fabius Nobilior* ?

A. These putting to Sea with 350 Vessels were met by the *Carthaginians* near their own Coasts. They defeated the latter, taking 30 of their Ships, sinking 104, with a very inconsiderable loss on the *Roman* side. The Consul, then taking in the *Roman* Garrison at *Clupea*, again set sail for *Sicily*; but before they could make the Shore, a violent Tempest arising, most of their Vessels were either swallowed up by the Waves, or dashed against the Rocks. The Strand was covered with dead Bodies, and the shattered remains of Ships : Both the Consuls perished, and the few that escaped were kindly received by *Hiero*, who, after providing them with Cloaths and other Necessaries, conveyed them safe to *Messina*. *Kartalo*, the *Carthaginian*, taking advantage of this great Misfortune, took the City of *Agrigentum* soon after.

Q. Were the *Romans* discouraged at these great Losses ?

A. No :

A. No: For in three Months after, they had built and launched 220 Vessels. They took several Towns in *Sicily* this Year. The *Ann. Rom.* 499 following Spring, *Servilius* and *Sempronius*, the Consuls, sailed with the whole Fleet to *Sicily*, and afterwards to *Africa*, where they performed nothing memorable. Coming at last nigh the lesser *Syrtis*, and being ignorant of those Coasts, they fell on certain Quicksands, but afterwards reached *Sicily* in a flying Posture. Sailing from hence very unadvisedly to *Rome*, through the Straits, they were overtaken by a Tempest, and lost 150 Ships. Such a Series of Misfortunes began to discourage the *Romans*; upon which the Senate decreed, that no more naval Engagements should be fought; and that only 60 Vessels should be kept at Sea, to guard the Coasts of *Italy*. *Asdrubal*, the *Carthaginian* General, being informed of their Fears, laid waste all the Country about *Panormus* in *Sicily*; and that with the more Carelessness, because *Metellus* the Consul would not stir out of the Walls of it. But *Metellus*, snatching the Opportunity, drew up his Soldiers so advantageously against the Elephants, that when *Asdrubal* advanced night he Town, he gave him a dreadful Overthrow, killed 20,000 Men, and took 26 Elephants, for which a splendid *Ann. Rom.* 502. Triumph was decreed him. Soon after this, the *Carthaginians* lost all *Sicily*, *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum* excepted; to the latter of which Place *Asdrubal* escaped; but being condemned at *Carthage*, he was executed there at his Return to it; the unhappy Fate of many *Carthaginian* Commanders.

Q. What further remarkable Particulars are we told concerning *Attilius Regulus*?

A. The *Carthaginians* being now wearied out with this tedious War, in which they had sustained such mighty Losses, turned their Thoughts to Peace; and accordingly sent *Regulus*, with their Ambassadors, to *Rome*, to make Overtures for that Purpose to the Senate. *Regulus* had been imprisoned five Years in *Carthage*; and, before his setting out from that City, had been obliged to take an Oath, to return to it, in case he proved unsuccessful in his

his Negotiations, or could not obtain an Exchange of Prisoners. Being come to *Rome*, he acquainted the Senate with the Motives of his Voyage, when, being desired to give his Opinion freely ; he replied, " That he " could not do this as a Senator, because he had lost " that Character, ever since he had fallen into the Hands " of his Enemies ; but that he would venture to offer " his Thoughts as a private Person." This was a very delicate Affair, and every one was touched at the Misfortunes of so great a Man. He needed to speak but one single Word, and it would have restored him to his Liberty, his Estate, his Dignity, his Wife, his Children, and his Country : But that Word seemed to interfere with the Honour and Welfare of *Rome*.

Q. What Declaration did he then make ?

A. He told the Senate, very freely, " That an Exchange of Prisoners should not so much as be thought of, since such an Example would be of fatal Consequence to the Commonwealth ; that Citizens, who had so ignominiously surrendered their Arms and Persons to the Enemy, were unworthy of the least Pity, and rendered incapable of serving their Country ; that as to himself he was so far advanced in Years, that his Death ought to be looked upon as nothing ; whereas they had in their Hands several *Carthaginian* Generals, in the prime of Life, who were capable of doing their Country great Service for many Years. That he had so much of the true Spirit of a *Roman*, that he could not do any Thing that was base or dishonourable ; and did not so much fear the Tortures of a cruel Rack, as the Ignominy of an infamous Action ; the former touching only the Body, but the latter piercing the Mind." It was with the utmost Difficulty that the Senate complied with so generous and unparalleled a Counsel. The illustrious exile therefore left *Rome*, in order to return to *Carthage*, unmoved either with the deep Sorrow of his Friends, or the Tears of his Wife and Children, tho' he was but too sensible of the Torments which were prepared for him. 'Tis said, that *Regulus*, to inflame the Hatred of his Countrymen to the *Carthaginians*, had assured them, that they, before he set out

from

from their City had forced him to swallow a Dose of Poison, in order that he might die by slow Degrees, in case they should be forced to surrender him up.

Q. What happened to him at *Carthage* ?

A. The Moment his Enemies saw him return thither, without having obtained the Exchange of Prisoners, they made him suffer every kind of Torture. They imprisoned him for a long Time in a dismal Dungeon, whence, after cutting off his Eye-lids, they drew him at once into the Sun, when its Beams darted the strongest Heat. They next put him into a kind of Chest or Barrel, stuck full of Nails, whose Points running into his Flesh, did not allow him a Moment's Ease either Day or Night. At last, after having been long kept awake in this dreadful torture, the merciless Wretches nailed him to a Cross, their usual Punishment, and left him to expire on it. His Enemies, by depriving him of some Days or perhaps Years of Life, brought eternal Infamy on themselves.

Q. Did not the *Romans* resent this inhuman Treatment of *Regulus* ?

A. The Senate were so enraged at it, that they delivered up some Prisoners of the greatest Distinction to *Marcia* his Wife, who shut them into an Armoury filled with iron Spikes, where she kept them five Days together without Sustenance ; intending to torture them in the same Manner as her Husband had been. *Bostrar*, the *Carthaginian*, died under the Torments ; but *Hamilcar* was kept five days longer with the dead Body ; having only so much Food allowed him, as would just keep Life in him a few Days. The Magistrates, hearing of this, began to relent ; when, giving strict Orders that no more Captives should be used in that Manner, they sent the Ashes of *Bostrar* to *Carthage*, and treated the rest of the Prisoners with greater Moderation.

Q. What remarkable Incidents happened under the Consulship of *Claudius Pulcher*, and *C. Junius*.

A. The *Romans*, because their Land-Forces were afraid of the Elephants, and *Ann.Rom. 504.* had little Success, fitted out another Fleet and besieged *Lilybaeum* in *Sicily*, by Sea and Land. *Claudius* was defeated by *Adberbal* the *Carthaginian General* ; most

most of his Ships, as some superstitious Historians relate, being sunk in that very Place, in which he had caused the Chickens, designed for the Augury, to be thrown, with this Taunt, " That they should be made to drink, " since they would not eat." The Roman Fleet was now reduced to an inconsiderable Number. Junius, his Colleague, was not more prudent or more fortunate, but lost the greatest part of his Navy by his ill Conduct. Claudius being returned to Rome, was ordered to appoint a Dictator; and accordingly he nominated, out of Contempt, Claudius Glotia, a Person of mean Extraction, who was forced to lay down his Employment, and Claudius was banished for making so unworthy a Choice.

Attilius Catalinus was afterwards created Dictator, *Ann. Rom. 504.* ed Dictator, he being the first who had ever commanded the Roman Armies out of Italy. Nothing remarkable was performed by this Dictator. For six or seven Years after this, the Romans did not make any naval Preparations.

Q. In what Manner did the first Punic War end?

A. As Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, infested the Coasts of Italy very much, the Romans were resolved to try their Fortune once more at Sea. The public Treasury being at a low Ebb, this Want was supplied by private Purse, so ardent was the Love which the Romans bore their Country. In a little Time 200 Ships were ready for sailing; and the Command of this Fleet being given to Lutatius the Consul, he immediately

Ann. Rom. 510. put to Sea. After seizing on all the advantageous Posts in the Neighbourhood of Lilybæum, Advice was brought, that the Carthaginian Fleet, under Hanno drew near. Both Fleets coming to a Battle, the Carthaginians were not able to sustain the first Attack. Fifty of their Vessels were sunk, and seventy taken with their whole Crews. The rest, favoured by a Wind, which rose very seasonably for them, made the best of their way to the little Island Aegusa, from whence they had sailed. Upwards of ten thousand were taken Prisoners; after which the Consul sailed immediately for Lilybæum, and joined his Forces to those of the Besiegers. This great Loss brought the Carthaginians

ginians to a Peace, the Articles of which were as follow :

" That the *Carthaginians* should pay down 1000 Talents of Silver, and 2200 more in ten Years: That they should quit Sicily and all the Islands in its Neighbourhood: That they should never make War on the *Syracusans*, or their Allies, nor bring any Ships of War into the *Roman* Dominions: And lastly, That they should deliver up all their Prisoners without Ransom, and likewise the Deserters." By this Treaty the City of *Lilybæum*, which had withstood a ten years Siege, was surrendered to the *Romans*. Thus

ended the first *Punic* War which had *Ann.Rom. 513.*

continued 24 Years without Intermission, in which the *Romans* are said to have lost 700 Ships, and the *Carthaginians* only 500. The Obstinacy in disputing for Empire was equal on either side: The same Greatness of Soul in forming, as well as in executing of Projects, was conspicuous in both. The *Carthaginians* had the Superiority with regard to Experience in naval Affairs; in the Strength and Swiftness of their Vessels, the working of them, the Skill and Ability of their Pilots; the Knowledge of Coasts, Shallows, Roads and Winds; and in the inexhaustible Fund of Wealth, which furnished all the Expences of so long and obstinate a War. The *Romans* had none of these Advantages; but then their Courage, their Zeal for the public Welfare, the Love of their Country, and a noble Emulation of Glory, supplied for all of them. We are surprized to see a Nation, so unexperienced in naval Affairs, not only disputing the Empire of the Sea, with a People who were best skilled in them, and more powerful than any that had been before: but even gaining several naval Victories over them. As to Soldiers, those of *Rome* were infinitely superior in point of Courage to the *Carthaginians*: And, among the Generals of the latter, who commanded in this War, *Hamilcar* was certainly the greatest.

Q. What other Transactions happened about this Period?

A. The Tribes were increased in *Rome* to 35, which was their greatest Number. And now the *Romans* began

to improve in Politeness, applying themselves to Study, and particularly to Poetry ; soon after *Ann. Rom. 514.* which the Comedies and Tragedies of *Livius Andronicus*, a Greek, were exhibited in *Rome*. These were not like the dramatic Pieces mentioned before. *Nævius* was the first Poet who followed his Example five Years after ; the Year *Ann. Rom. 518.* before which the great Secular Games, called *Ludi Magni*, were solemnized a Third Time. The Rise of these Games is said to be as follows : A Prophecy in the *Sibylline Oracles* declared, that if the *Romans*, at the Beginning of every Age, (which was the Space either of 100 or 1100 Years, Authors being very much divided in Opinion on that Head) should solemnize Games in the *Campus Martius*, to the Honour of *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Ceres*, and the *Parcae*, or three fatal Sisters, their City should flourish for ever, and all Nations be subjected to their Dominion.

Q. As we have the Description of the *Ludi Seculares* solemnized under one of the Emperors, I should be glad to have it.

A. The Heralds were commanded to invite the whole World to a Feast, the like of which they had never beheld, nor should ever see again. A few Days before they began, the *Quindecimviri*, or Keepers of the *Sibylline Oracles*, taking their Seats in the *Capitol* and the *Palatine Temple*, gave to the People Flambeaux, *Brimstone*, Sulphur, and such like purifying Substances. From hence the People, carrying Wheat, Barley, and Beans, by way of Offering, proceeded to *Diana's Temple* on the *Aventine Hill*, after which they passed whole Nights in Devotion to the *Destinies* or *Fates*. At last, when the Time for actually celebrating the Games, which continued three Days and three Nights, was come, the People met in the *Campus Martius*, and offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, the *Fates*, *Ceres*, *Fluto*, and *Proserpine*. The first Night of the Feast, the Emperor, attended by the *Quindecimviri*, ordered three Altars to be erected on the Banks of the *Tiber*, which they sprinkled with the Blood of three Lambs, and afterwards burnt the Offerings and the Victims. This being done, a Space

a Space was marked out, which served for a Theatre, being illuminated with a numberless multitude of Flambeaux. Here certain Hymns, composed for the Occasion, were sung, and all sorts of Sports celebrated. On the Morrow, when they had been at the Capitol to offer the Victims, they returned to the *Campus Martius*, and solemnized Games in Honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. These continued till the next Day, when the noble Matrons, at the Hour appointed by the Oracle, went to the Capitol to sing Hymns in Honour of *Jupiter*. The third Day, on which the Feast ended, twenty-seven young Boys, and the same Number of Girls, sung, in the Temple of *Palatine Apollo*, Hymns and Verses in Greek and Latin, to implore the Protection of those Deities (in whose Honour these Sacrifices were more particularly instituted) for the City of *Rome*. It may not be improper to observe, that the famous Secular Poem of *Horace* was composed for this last Day, in the Secular Games celebrated by *Augustus Cæsar*.

Q. Were not the *Carthaginians* infested with a bloody intestine War?

A. This was with the mercenary Soldiers (commanded by *Spendius* and *Matho*) who had served under them in *Sicily*; and was owing to their want of Pay and Employment. This War, after having been waged three Years and a half with great Loss and Difficulty, and with such Barbarity as is scarce to be paralleled in History, was ended by *Hamilcar*. Whilst it was carrying on, several *Roman* Merchants, who traded into *Africa*, were seized by the *Carthaginians*, to prevent their furnishing the Enemy with Provisions; and Complaints being made of this at *Carthage*, they kindly released all who were in Custody, which gave the *Romans* the utmost Satisfaction insomuch that there now seemed to be the utmost Harmony and Friendship between the two Powers. But not long after, the *Romans* having been invited into the Island of *Sardinia*, sailed thither, which offended the *Carthaginians* so much, that they prepared to send a Body of Forces to it; when the *Romans* taking Umbrage at this, proclaimed War against them. The *Carthaginians* being in no Condition to carry on a War, not only surrendered

surrendered up all *Sardinia*, but also paid the *Romans* 1200 Talents: A Circumstance that afterwards occasioned a more dangerous and expensive War than the former. The *Romans* being now in Peace with all the World, the Temple of *Janus* was shut *Ann. Rom. 519.* the second Time, and continued so during five Years, till a War broke out with the *Illyrians*, a *Grecian* People inhabiting the Country now called *Dalmatia*.

Q. Please to acquaint me with the Particulars of this War.

A. *Teuta*, Queen of the *Illyrians*, having impowered her Subjects to plunder all Ships they might meet with at Sea, happened to seize some belonging to certain Merchants of *Italy*, and treated them very barbarously. The *Romans* sending Ambassadors to complain of this, the Queen caused one of them, viz. *Lucius Cunncanus*, to be killed. Upon this, War was proclaimed against her, which was carried on so successfully by the two Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, that the Queen was forced to retire to *Rhizon*, a strong Town, whence she sent to *Rome* to sue for Peace, which was granted her on the following Conditions, " To pay an annual Tribute ; to quit all *Illyricum*, a few Places excepted ; " and not to sail beyond the River *Liffus* with more " than two unarmed Barks." In this manner was the first *Illyrian* War ended, in less than two Years, which increased the *Roman* Dominions, as their generous Behaviour gained them great love in that *Ann. Rom. 527.* part of the World, especially among the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*. The *Prætors* now increased to four.

Q. Why did the *Gauls* again invade the *Roman Territories* ?

A. Because that *Flamininus*, a Tribune of the People, had enacted, in opposition to the Senate, that the Lands conquered from the *Galli Senones* should be divided among the *Roman* Citizens. This War is called by the *Latin* Historians, *Bellum Gallicum Cisalpinum*. These fierce People, assisted by other *Gauls*, called *Gessatæ*, inhabiting

near

near the River Rhone made an Incursion
into Hetruria with 50,000 Foot, and *Ann. Rom. 529.*
20,000 Horse. The Gauls wasting all
with Fire and Sword till they were come to Clusium,
about three Days Journey from Rome, were there blocked
up, by the Romans, having the Praetor behind, and the
Consuls before; so that they were forced to oppose two
Fronts to the Enemy, and fight with great Disadvantage.
The Geffatae combatting naked, were easily broke, which
so disheartened the rest, that all fled. However, 40,000
were cut to pieces, and 10,000 taken Prisoners; and
among the rest Concolitanus, a King of the Geffatae, for
which the Consuls obtained a most magnificent Triumph.
Great Incursions were made the next
Year, into the Territories of the Gauls, *Ann. Rom. 530.*
who, after being several times defeated,
sent Ambassadors to sue for Peace, which being refused,
they resolved to use their utmost Efforts to carry on the
War. At last, *Claudius Marcellus* van-
quished them in a bloody Battle, he kil- *Ann. Rom. 532.*
ling, with his own hand, *Virdomarus*, King of the Geffatae;
and obtained a grand Triumph, dedicating the third
Opima Spolia or Regal Spoils, to *Jupiter Feretrius*. The
Gallic War, after continuing six Years,
was ended to the considerable Increase *Ann. Rom. 534.*
of the Roman Dominions. About this
time *C. Flaminius* the Censor, built a
Circus, and paved the Highway as far *Ann. Rom. 535.*
as Arminium. The Illyrians revolted,
but were reduced by *Aemilius* and *Livius* the Consuls.

Q. When did the second PUNIC WAR begin?

A. At the Close of the Year 535. The Carthaginians
were exasperated at the Loss of Sicily, and other Islands,
which they considered as their Patrimony; and unwilling
to submit and pay Tribute to the Romans, whom they
accused of making an ill Use of their Prosperity. Be-
sides, *Hamilcar*, vexed at the ignominious Peace which
his Countrymen had too hastily concluded, was meditat-
ing how he might best take Vengeance on the Romans, at
the time that he headed the Carthaginian Armies in
Africa and Spain. He had obliged his Son *Hannibal*,

at nine Years of Age, to take an Oath on the Altars, that he would become the irreconcilable Enemy of the *Romans*, and revenge the Injuries done to his Country, so soon as he should be able to draw a Sword. Accordingly *Hannibal*, after his Father's Death, had been sent, at eighteen Years of Age, to *Spain*, to learn the Art of War under that great Captain, *Asdrubal*, his Brother-in-law.

Q. Did not *Hannibal* besiege *Saguntum* in the last-mentioned Country ?

A. Yes. The Citizens, who were wealthy Traders, were in Alliance with the *Romans*; when the General above-mentioned, being desirous of obliging the *Carthaginians* to break the Peace with the last-mentioned People, in order to force his Way into *Italy*, by an open War, laid Siege to *Saguntum*. The Inhabitants upon this desired Succour of the *Romans*, who immediately sent Deputies to *Hannibal* and *Carthage*, to complain of this Violation of the Treaty; but no satisfactory Answer was returned them. In the mean time the *Saguntines* who had sustained the Siege during eight Months with unparalleled Bravery, finding they were not allowed to capitulate on honourable Terms, seeing no Succours arrive, and being preyed upon by Famine, a great Part of them were in such Despair, that they threw themselves, their Wives their Children, and Effects, into the Flames; and the City being taken, *Hannibal* put all those who survived to the Sword.

Q. What did the *Romans* upon this ?

A. After they had recovered a little from the deep Affliction, into which the taking of *Saguntum* had plung'd them, they summoned the People, when War was resolved unanimously against the *Carthaginians*. However, that no Ceremony might be wanting, Ambassadors were sent to *Carthage* to enquire whether *Saguntum* had been besieged by Order of the Commonwealth, and if so, to declare War; or, in case this Siege had been undertaken by the sole Authority of *Hannibal*, to require that he should be delivered up to the *Romans*. The Ambassadors finding that the Senate gave no direct Answer to their Demands, one of them, taking up the Skirt of his Robe, cried,

cried, in a haughty Tone, " I bring here either Peace or " War ; and the Choice is left to yourselves." The Senate answering, that they left the Choice to him : " I give you then War," says he, unfolding his Robe : " And we (replied the *Carthaginians*, with the same " Haughtiness) as readily accept it, and are determined " to prosecute it with the same Carefulness." Such was the Beginning of the second *Punic War*, one of the most memorable that is recorded in History, whether we consider the Boldness of the Enterprizes, the Wisdom employed in the Execution, the obstinate Efforts of two rival Nations, and the ready Resources they found in their lowest Ebb of Fortune ; the Variety of uncommon Events ; the Assemblage of the most perfect Models in every Species of Merit ; and the most instructive Lessons that occur in History, with regard to War or Politics. *Rome* and *Carthage* were doubtless the two first Cities in the World. Having already tried their Strength in the first *Punic War*, and so made an Essay of each other's Power, they knew perfectly well what either could do. In this second War, the Fate of Arms was so equally balanced, and the Success so intermixed with Vicissitudes, that that Party triumphed which had been most exposed to Ruin ; and great as the Forces of these two Nations were, it may be almost said that their mutual Hatred was greater.

Q. What were the first Transactions of this War ?

A. At the Return of the Ambassadors, public Processions were decreed in *Rome*, to obtain the Favour and Protection of the Gods ; immediately after which *Cornelius Scipio* the Consul was sent into *Spain*, and *Tiberius Sempronius* his Colleague, into *Sicily*. As to the *Carthaginians*, they committed the whole Management of the War to *Hannibal*, at that time about 26 or 27 Years of Age, who, before his setting out upon his March, went to *Cadis*, to discharge the Vows made by him to *Hercules* ; and to offer up new ones, in order to obtain Success in the War. Having over-run all *Spain* to the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and leaving *Hanno* with a sufficient Body of Forces to guard that Country, he crossed the Mountains above-mentioned with 50,000 Foot and 9000 Horse, his

Army being composed of Soldiers of different Nations, and Languages. Having passed the *Rhone* with great Danger and Difficulty; in ten Days March from thence he came to the Foot of the *Alps*, over which he resolved to cross into *Italy*.

Q. In what manner did *Hannibal* pass the *Alps*?

A. It was now the Beginning of Winter, and the Sight of these Mountains, which seemed to touch the Skies with their Summits, that were quite covered with Snow; and where nothing was seen but a few tottering Cottages, meagre Flocks almost perished with Cold, and hairy Men of a savage and fierce Aspect; this Sight, I say, struck a prodigious Terror into the Minds of the Soldiers. When they began to climb up, they perceived the Mountaineers, who had possessed themselves of the highest Cliffs, and were prepared to oppose their Passage; and therefore the *Carthaginians* were obliged to halt. However, seizing upon these Passes in the Absence of those who had guarded them, and advancing up the *Alps*, they were greatly annoyed by the Inhabitants; so that they were forced, at one and the same time, to engage with the Enemy, and struggle with the Declivity of the Mountain, where they could hardly stand. But the greatest Disorder was caused by the Horses and Beasts of Burden, laden with the Baggage; and which terrified at the Howlings of the *Gauls* that echoed dreadfully through the Mountains, and being sometimes wounded by the Mountaineers, came tumbling on the Soldiers, and dragged them headlong down the Précipices which were close to the Road. Nevertheless *Hannibal*, in spite of all these Difficulties, put the Enemy to Flight, and seized upon a Fortress, and a considerable Quantity of Corn and Cattle; after which the *Gauls*, who inhabited this Part, came and paid him their Submissions. Having advanced to a very steep and narrow Pass, the *Carthaginians* were attacked by a Party of *Gauls*, who lay in Ambuscade, and rolled down Stones upon them of a prodigious Size; so that the *Carthaginian* Army would have been quite routed, had not *Hannibal* exerted himself in an extraordinary Manner. Having reached the Summit on the ninth Day, the Army, after halting two Days, and taking some Refreshments,

freshments, continued their March, which was very much incommoded by the new-fallen Snows: But *Hannibal*, having now a Prospect of *Italy*, animated his Soldiers, by telling them, that they had but one Effort more to make, and then would arrive at it; that a Battle or two would put a glorious Period to their Toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them Possession of the Capital of the *Roman Empire*. This Speech inspired the dejected Soldiers with fresh Vigour and Alacrity; but still the Way grew more craggy and troublesome than ever; and the Difficulty and Danger encreased in Proportion as they came down the Mountain. Advancing forward, they came to a steep and craggy Path, which terminated in a Precipice above a thousand Foot deep. Here, as the Soldiers and Horses marched on nothing but Ice, they found it impossible for them to get farther; upon which *Hannibal*, after causing all the new-fallen Snow to be removed, ordered a Path to be cut into the Rock itself; a Work that was carried on with amazing Patience and Ardour. To enlarge this Path, all the Trees thereabout were cut down and piled round the Rock, after which Fire was set to them. The Wind happening very fortunately to blow hard, a fierce Flame soon broke out, so that the Rock glowed like the Coals with which it was surrounded. Then *Hannibal*, if we may credit *Livy*, (for many reject this incident as fabulous) caused a prodigious Quantity of Vinegar to be poured on the Rock, which piercing into the Veins of it, that were now cracked by the intense Heat of the Fire, calcined and softened it. Afterward taking a large Compas about, in order that the Descent might be easier, the *Carthaginians* cut a Way along the Rock, which opened a free Passage to the Forces, the Baggage and even the Elephants. Four Days were spent in this Work, during which the Beasts of Burden were starving; there being no Food for them on these Mountains thus buried under eternal Snows. At last they arrived at a fruitful Spot, which yielded Plenty of Forage for their Horses, and all kinds of Food for the Soldiers. *Hannibal's Army* was by this time reduced to 12,000 *Africans*, 8000 *Spanish* Foot, and 6000 Horse. It was now five Months and a

half since he had set out from *New Carthage* in *Spain* and he had employed fifteen Days in passing the *Alps*.

Q. Where was *Scipio* the Consul?

A. Hearing of *Hannibal's* Progress, he marched forward, when the Armies met at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*. After the Generals had harangued their respective Soldiers, the Battle began, when both Parties behaved very gallantly, but at last the *Romans* were put to flight. *Scipio* being wounded, was rescued by the Bravery of his Son, then but 17 Years of Age, and who afterwards was surnamed *Africanus*, for having gloriously ended this War. The *Numidian* Cavalry had contributed chiefly to this Victory. Not long after, *Sempronius* hastening to the Succour of his Colleague, a second Engagement was fought near *Placentia*, at the *Trebia* (a small River of *Lombardy* which falls into the *Po*) where the *Romans* were again vanquished. The *Carthaginians* having ended the Pursuit, and gained a complete Victory, retired to their Camp so benumbed with Cold, that they were scarce sensible to their Advantage; for Rain mixed with Snow, and the piercing Cold, killed many of their Men, and most of their Beasts and Elephants. *Hannibal* now withdrew into Winter-quarters. In *Spain* the *Romans* had better Success, in this and the following Campaign; for *Cn. Scipio* extended his Conquests as far as the River *Iberius* or *Ebro*; defeated *Hanno*, and took him Prisoner.

Q. What Actions were performed under the Consuls *C. Flaminius* and *Servilius Geminus*?

A. *Hannibal* having recruited his Ar-
Ann. Rom. 537. my in the Country of the *Gauls*, resolved to advance into *Hetruria*, and make it the Seat of the War; but going thro' the Fens, his Soldiers were forced to wade three or four Days and Nights thro' Water. *Hannibal* himself, riding on the only Elephant that was left, escaped with his Life, but lost one of his Eyes. Being arrived upon dry Ground, he came up with the Enemy near the Lake *Thrasymene*. *Flaminius*, the Consul, being of a fiery Temper, *Hannibal*, to inflame it still more, laid waste the whole Country in his Sight, upon which the *Roman* General advanced to the Lake above-mentioned. Near it were certain Mountains,

tains, and between them and the Lake, a narrow Passage leading to an adjacent Valley, surrounded with a Chain of Hills. *Hannibal* posted his Men upon them, when *Flamininus* following him above half way into the Valley, was attacked by the *Carthaginians*. As the *Romans* were not yet drawn up in Order of Battle, nor had got their Arms in Readiness, they were immediately put into Disorder, a Fog arising, which almost prevented their seeing one another. Both Parties then fought with such amazing Animosity, that they did not perceive an Earthquake which happened in that Country, and laid whole Towns in Ruins. In this Confusion, *Flamininus* being slain by an *Insubrian Gaul*, the *Romans* began to give Ground, and at last ran quite away. In this Battle 15,000 *Romans* were slain, 6000 taken Prisoners, and about 10,000 escaped to *Rome*. *Hannibal* set away the *Latines* without demanding the least Ransom, and sought, but in vain, for the Consul's Body, in order to give it Burial. He then laid waste all the Country in that Neighbourhood.

Q. How did the *Romans* take these Losses ?

A. They were at first in the utmost Consternation, but having afterwards recovered themselves, they chose a Dictator, who was *Fabius Ann.Rom.537. Maximus*, a wise and experienced General, and in whom Caution and Boldness were happily blended. As for *Hannibal*, he crossed *Umbria* and *Picenum*, and after ten Days March arrived in the Territory of *Adria*, a small Town whence the *Adriatic Sea* was called, and thence came as far as *Apulia*. *Fabius*, followed by *Minucius* and four Legions, had marched from *Rome* in Quest of the Enemy, with a firm Resolution not to let them take the least Advantage ; not to advance one Step till he had examined every Place carefully, nor hazard a Battle till he should be almost sure of Success. Both Armies being come in Sight, *Hannibal* offered the *Romans* Battle, but to no Purpose, which exasperated him to a great Degree. This he attempted to do several times, but still his Designs were frustrated by *Fabius*, who only waited his Motions, straitened his Quarters, cut off his Provisions ; and, by always following the *Carthaginians*,

ginians, gave him no Rest, but kept him in a perpetual Alarm. This cautious Conduct of *Fabius* got him the Surname of *Cunctator*. *Hannibal*, designing to march for *Casinum*, was, by a Mistake, conducted to *Casilinum*, near *Campania*, were entering a Valley surrounded with Hills, *Fabius* detached 4000 Men, who seized the Pass; after which he posted himself, with the Remainder of his Army, on the Hills adjoining to the road. *Hannibal* now finding himself blocked up, had recourse to a Stratagem. He ordered small Bundles of Vine-branches to be tied to the Horns of 2000 Oxen, when the Branches were set on Fire in the Dead of Night, and the Oxen drove to the Summit of the Hills where the *Romans* were encamped. As soon as those Creatures felt the Flame, they were in a Rage; and flying up and down, set Fire to all the Bushes and Shrubs that came in their Way. This Sight so terrified the Party who guarded the Entrance, that they quitted their Posts; and by this Stratagem *Hannibal* drew off his Army and escaped, and afterwards returned to *Apulia*, still pursued and harassed by the *Romans*.

Q. Where did the Dictator go after this?

A. To *Rome*. Before his Departure he had earnestly intreated *Minutius Rufus*, his Master of the Horse, not to fight during his Absence. However *Minutius* engaged the *Carthaginians*; and gaining some little Advantage, so great a Merit was made of it at *Rome*, that the People gave him equal Authority (a Thing unheard of before) with the Dictator, who now was accused of too timorous a Circumspection. *Fabius* being returned to the Army, *Minutius* resolved, in Opposition to his Advice, to engage the Enemy with Part of his Army, which he did, but would have been defeated, had not *Fabius* come very opportunely to his Aid, and repulsed the *Carthaginians*.

Q. Who were appointed Consuls the Year after?

A. *Aemilius Paulus*, and *Terentius Varro*.
Ann. Rom. 538. *ro*, the former a Person of great Wisdom and Experience, and the latter a rash and inconsiderate Man. These were sent to command in the room of *Fabius Maximus*, who told them, that the only way of vanquishing *Hannibal*, who was a very active

active and artful General, would be to keep off as long as possible from coming to an Engagement. The *Roman* Army consisted of 80,000 Foot and 6000 Horse; and the Enemy of about 40,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. Both Armies having often removed from Place to Place, came in Sight of each other near *Cannæ*, a little Town in *Apulia*, situated on the River *Aufidus*; and coming to an Engagement, (tho' very much against the Advice of *Æmilius*) the *Romans* lost 70,000 Men (three Bushels of Rings being taken from them on this Occasion) with *Æmilius* the Consul, and other Commanders, and four-score Senators. The *Carthaginians*, so great was their Fury, did not give over the Slaughter, till *Hannibal*, in the very Heat of it, called out several Times, " Stop, " Soldiers, spare the vanquished." Ten thousand Men who had been left to guard the Camp, surrendered themselves Prisoners of War after the Battle. A Party of young *Romans*, who had fled to *Canusium*, a City of *Italy*, held a Council together, and resolved to abandon their Country, and go and settle elsewhere: But *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, and at that Time a Tribune of the Soldiers, drawing his Sword, swore that they should be all cut to pieces, in case they did not lay aside that inglorious Resolution, and take an Oath to fight to the last for the Safety of their Country. *Hannibal*, who now remained Master of the Field, and was indebted for this and his former Victories to the Superiority of his Cavalry over that of the *Romans*, did not lose quite 6000 Men. A little after, *Varro*, with the shattered Remains of his Army, arrived in *Rome*: And though the Battle was lost by his Rashness, yet the People went out to meet him, and returned him Thanks, " for that he had not despaired of the Commonwealth." 'Tis said, that this Consul was so sensible of his Error, that he afterwards let his Beard and Hair grow, which was a Sign of Mourning among the *Romans*; that he would never sit at Meals, and refused all the Employments which were offered him.

Q. Were not the *Romans* deeply afflicted at this Defeat?

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A. Yes;

A. Yes ; and immediately they appointed Sacrifices, set Limits to the Time for Mourning, and created a Dictator to raise a new Army. They then enlisted all their young Men, and a Multitude of Slaves who were freed on that Occasion ; and they released out of Prison a great Number of Debtors, upon Condition of their serving in the Army. As there were not Arms sufficient for the Troops, those were taken which

Ann. Rom. 538. hung in the Temples. The surviving Senators, Knights, and even the lowest of the People, gave all the Gold and Silver they had to pay the Troops, and this in such Profusion, that the Writers were quite fatigued with setting down the Names of those who contributed.

Q. What did *Hannibal* after this ?

A. Instead of pursuing his Conquests, he made some Stay in *Apulia*, and marched afterwards into *Campania*, where, 'tis said, *Capua* was as fatal to him, as *Cannæ* had been to the *Romans*, because he, by his imprudent Stay in that delicious Country, enervated *Ann. Rom. 539.* his Soldiers, and gave the *Romans* Time to recover themselves, and to repair their Losses ; which made *Maberbal*, one of his Generals, tell him, " That he knew how to conquer, but not to make a good use of a Victory ; " and indeed, had *Hannibal* marched directly to *Rome*, it must have been inevitably ruined.

Q. What was doing in *Spain*, and other Countries ?

A. *Hanno* was defeated by *Scipio* in *Spain*, who gained much ground, and likewise defeated *Asdrubal*. The *Romans* were also successful in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, in the latter of which Islands a Battle being fought, 12,000 *Carthaginians* were slain, and many taken Prisoners, among whom were *Asdrubal*, *Hanno*, and * *Mago*, all Persons of the greatest Distinction. With regard to *Sicily*, *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, being dead, and *Hieronymus* his Grandson murdered, great Factions broke out in that City, and the Faction which prevailed were Enemies to *Rome*. *Marcellus* being sent thither, besieged *Syra-*

* Not *Hannibal's Brother.*

cuse

cuse by Sea and Land, but his Efforts were perpetually defeated by the wonderful Engines invented by Archimedes. However, after this Siege had been carried on three Years, the City was won by Surprize. Marcellus was extremely solicitous for the Safety of Archimedes; but this great Mathematician, at the storming of the City, was so much employed in his Speculations, that he took no Notice of the Tumult and Uproar, and so was killed by a Soldier before he suspected any Danger. Marcellus gave him very honourable Interment, and exceeding rich Spoils were won by the Romans.

Q. Did not Hannibal's Fortune begin to change?

A. Yes: For in the next Campaign he was over-powered by Marcellus, first as Praetor, and afterwards as Consul, who harassed his Troops on every Occasion, seized his Quarters, forced him to raise Sieges, and even repulsed him in several Rencounters, particularly near Nola; so that he was called *Ann. Rom. 539. the Sworn of Rome, as Fabius had before been named its Buckler.* This Change of Success in Hannibal's Prosperity, tho' it is commonly ascribed to his Abode at Capua, yet the real Cause of it was, his want of necessary Recruits and Succours from Carthage, where all his Measures were opposed by a violent Faction. Nevertheless the Carthaginian General possessed himself of several Cities belonging to the Apulians, Calabrians, and Brutii. Some time before this, Philip, King of Macedon, had sent Ambassadors to Hannibal, with an Offer to assist him against the Romans, upon Condition that he should succour him against the Greeks. But the Romans seizing these Ambassadors, and discovering Philip's Designs, sent Valerius Lævinus against him into Macedonia, and Titus Manlius the Proconsul, into Sardinia. This Philip, King of Macedon, was one of Alexander's Successors, being the tenth Monarch after him, and a powerful Prince in Greece. Thus the Romans carried on War in four different Countries at one and the same Time; in Italy against Hannibal, in Spain against Asdrubal his Brother, in Macedon against Philip, and in Sardinia against the People of that Island, and another Asdrubal who commanded the Carthaginians.

Q. What

Q. What Progress did the *Romans* now make ?

A. Under the Consulship of *Pub. Sulpicius* and *Cnæus Fulvius*, *Hannibal*, hearing that *Capua* was invested by the *Romans*, advanced within four Miles of *Rome*, in order to make a Diversion, and led his Cavalry to the very Gates of the City ; a little after which *Fulvius* took *Capua*, after it had been besieged two Years, and immediately beheaded 56 Senators, the rest dying during the Siege. *Hannibal* retired from *Rome*, after braving the Citizens ; and in his March, plundered a rich Temple, and proceeded in this furious manner thro' the Territories of the *Lucani* and *Brutii* ; but the Havock he there made, lessened his Credit very much.

Q. What was the Success of the *Roman Arms* in *Spain* ?

A. They carried on the War with great Vigour for some time ; had almost extirpated the *Carthaginians* and restored *Saguntum*, but were at last overthrown by the Artifices of the Enemy. The two *Scipios* (*Cnæus* and *Cornelius his Brother*) were opposed by three *Carthaginian Generals*, *Asdrubul Barca*, *Asdrubal Gisgo*, and *Mago* ; but being abandoned by those who had promised to succour them, they were killed in battle, each

Ann. Rom. 544. fighting gloriously for his Country.

Spain was then in great danger of being entirely lost, when *L. Martius*, a *Roman Knight*, rallied the flying Soldiers, vanquished one of the *Asdrubals*, and forced the two Camps of the *Carthaginians* with great Success. A *Comitia* was afterwards held at *Rome* for nominating a Proconsul for *Spain*, when none appearing for that Office ; at last, *Scipio*, not 24 Years of Age, Son of the Consul slain in *Spain*, and a Person of great Valour and Wisdom, stood up for Candidate, and was joyfully accepted by all the Citizens. This is the same *Scipio* who had so generously saved his Father's Life, in the first Battle fought against *Hannibal* near the *Ticinus*.

Q. What Actions were performed after this ?

A. *Lævinus*, after defeating *Philip* of *Macedon*, was sent into *Sicily*, and soon reduced the whole Island. About this

this time a Lustration being made, there were found but 137,108 free Citizens, a Proof that the Romans had sustained prodigious Losses in these Wars. *Marcellus engaged Hannibal with various Success for some time; but at last marching out against that General, he was slain in an Ambuscade; and Crispinus, his Colleague, died of his Wounds.* *Ann. Rom. 544.*

The Year following, *Asdrubal receiving Orders to leave Spain, and march into Italy, to succour his Brother Hannibal, was opposed by Livius and Nero, the two Consuls; who surrounding Asdrubal near the River Metaurus, cut him and his whole Army to Pieces, 55,000 Men being killed, and 5500 taken Prisoners.* *Nero, returning to his Camp, threw Asdrubal's Head into the Camp of Hannibal, who was then but too sensible of his sad Defeat.* *Asdrubal had reinforced his Army, in his March, with a great Number of Gauls and Ligurians, who had joined him out of Hatred to the Roman Name.* Had that *Carthaginian joined his Brother Hannibal, it would have been impossible for the Romans to withstand their united Forces.* In the mean time *Scipio made a very rapid Progress in Spain, he possessing himself of New Carthage, and taking Mago, Hannibal's Brother Prisoner.* *Scipio restored the Spaniards, who were as Hostages among the Carthaginians, to their Friends, which won him the Hearts of those People.* Among the Hostages was a young Lady of exquisite Beauty, who was betrothed to *Allucius, a Celtiberian Prince.* *Scipio, being informed of this, surpassed in some measure the Continence which Alexander shewed with regard to Darius's Wife and Daughters; for he not only refused to see her, but even ordered, that the very considerable Sum of Money, which was offered for her Ransom, should be added to her Portion.* He defeated *Asdrubal, Hannibal's Brother, obliged him to fly, and got very rich Plunder.* *Scipio, after having performed many noble Exploits in Spain, and taken or driven all the Carthaginian Generals from that Country, subjected every part of it to the Romans;* *Ann. Rom. 548.* and gained no less Renown for his Wis-

dom.

dom and Moderation, than for his Valour. He had been engaged five Years in this War.

Q. What Actions did *Scipio* perform after *Spain* and *Sicily* were reduced?

A. He was made Consul and sent in *Ann. Rom. 548.* to *Africa*, this being judged the most effectual Way to finish the War, and force *Hannibal* to leave *Italy*. The *Romans* entertained so high an Idea of this *Scipio*, that they thought him more than human, and that he held a Correspondence with the Gods. He passed the first Year in *Sicily*, in making Preparations for his Expedition; when all Things being ready, he sailed out with a strong Fleet, *Ann. Rom. 550.* which arrived safe in *Africa*. The Inhabitants of *Carthage*, being terrified to see so many ships on their Coast, sent one *Hanno* with 300 Horse, to take a View of the Enemy. But this Captain having advanced a little too far, was surrounded by a Body of Horse which *Scipio* had detached, and cut to pieces with his whole Party. After this Success, *Scipio* ordered *Laelius* to sail and besiege *Utica* by Sea, during which he himself marched thither, and invested it by Land. Here *Masnissa*, who had joined him in *Spain*, reinforced him with the *Numidian Cavalry*.

Q. How did the *Carthaginians* behave on this occasion?

A. They raised a strong Army, composed chiefly of Horse, the Command of which was given to another *Hanno*, who is thought to be one of *Hannibal's Brothers*. This General engaging *Scipio*, lost his Life, with near 12,000 Men, 5000 being taken Prisoners. However, the *Carthaginians* were consoled in some measure, when they saw *Asdrubal*, and soon after *Syphax*, arrive, each bringing a powerful Army. The latter had dispossessed *Masnissa*, King of *Numidia*, of his Dominions. *Scipio*, after worsting *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in several Skirmishes, sent out a Party to view their Camps. Word was brought, that the Tents in both were built of Wood, and covered with Straw or Reeds. Immediately *Scipio* ordered his Fleet to draw nearer to *Utica*, and himself detached several thousand Men; ordering them to post themselves on a Hill which commanded that City, as though his only

Design

Design had been to storm it. In the mean time he sent *Lælius* and *Masinissa* to set Fire to *Syphax's* Camp; and himself advanced, at the Head of his Troops, to burn that of *Asdrubal*. In a moment both Camps were in a Blaze; the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* were dreadfully alarmed, and their only Endeavours now were, to escape the flames. But the *Romans*, seizing the Opportunity, made so great a Havock of the Enemy, that near 40,000 were left dead in the Field, and 6 or 7000 taken Prisoners. They won considerable Spoils, and among the rest 178 Standards. Nevertheless, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* fled with such of the Forces as escaped; and after recruiting their Armies, were vanquished a second, and at last a third time, when *Syphax* was taken Prisoner. *Masinissa*, the Victor, besieged *Cirta*, his Capital, and took it. But he met with a greater Danger in the City than that he had faced in the Field; and this was the famous *Sophonisba*, whose exquisite Charms and Endearments he was not able to resist. To secure (as he imagined) this Princess to himself, he married her; but a few Days after he was forced to send her a Dose of Poison, as her nuptial Present; this being the only way left him to keep his Promise with his Queen, viz. That he would not deliver her up to the *Romans*; and, at the same time, to satisfy *Scipio*, who was highly displeased at this Marriage. *Sophonisba* drank the deadly Dose, and expired; after which, *Scipio*, the better to comfort *Masinissa*, caused him to be proclaimed King of *Numidia*, with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity.

Q. What became of *Hannibal*?

A. He was recalled, after passing fifteen Years in *Italy* with various Success. It was with the utmost Grief he left that Country, and he accused both the Senate of *Carthage* and himself; the former, because they had not supplied him with Men and Money, and himself, for his not having made a proper Advantage of the Conquests he had gained over the *Romans*. Never banished Man shewed so much Regret at leaving his native Country, as *Hannibal* in going out of that of an Enemy; he often turned his Eyes wishfully to *Italy*, accusing Gods and Men for his Misfortunes. We are told,

told, that before he embarked, he erected an Arch near the Temple of Juno *Licinia*, and thereon inscribed, in Punic and Greek Characters, a short Account of his mighty Exploits ; and now putting to Sea, he landed in a few Days at *Leptis*, from whence he marched to *Zama*, five Days Journey from *Carthage*. The Inhabitants of *Rome* were overjoyed at his Departure, no Commander having ever been more dreaded by them.

Q. What was done at *Zama* ?

A. Hannibal and *Scipio* being both encamped not far from that Town, the former sent out Spies to observe the Posture of the *Romans*. *Scipio*, having seized the Spies, so far from punishing them, only commanded them to be led about the *Roman* Camp, in order that they might take an exact Survey of it ; and then sent them back to *Hannibal*, who knew very well whence so noble an Assurance flowed. After the strange Reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that Fortune would again be propitious ; and therefore sent to desire an Interview with *Scipio*, which being agreed on, both Generals, who were not only the most illustrious of their own Age, but worthy of being ranked with the most renowned Princes and Warriors that ever lived, met in a spacious Plain between the two Armies. However, this Parley came to nothing, particularly, because of *Scipio*'s reproaching the *Carthaginians* for their Perfidy, in plundering the *Roman* Gallies, and violating the Ambassadors, before the Truce was expired ; and his imputing to the Injustice of the *Carthaginians*, all the Calamities with which the two Wars had been attended ; upon which both Sides prepared for Battle. Never were Motives more prevalent, to prompt Troops to behave gallantly. This Day was to crown the Glory of one or other of the Generals ; and to decide whether *Rome* or *Carthage* should prescribe Laws to all other Nations. *Hannibal*, tho' he displayed the utmost Bravery and Experience in the Fight, was at last vanquished by *Scipio* ; the *Carthaginians* leaving 20,000 Men on the Field of Battle, and the like Number of Prisoners being taken by the *Romans*, and among the rest *Sopater*, whom *Philip* had sent,

sent, with 4000 Men to succour the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* escaped in the Tumult; and entering *Carthage*, owned that he was irrecoverably vanquished, and that the Citizens had no other Choice left, but to accept of Peace on any Terms.

Q. Did not the *Carthaginians* accordingly sue for Peace?

A. They did: and *Scipio* ordered their Ambassadors to meet him in *Tunisi*. During this Interval, Advice being brought, that *Vermina*, the Son of *Syphax*, was advancing with a powerful Body of Forces to succour the *Carthaginians*; *Scipio* detached all his Cavalry and half his Infantry under the Command of *Cneus Octavius*, one of his Lieutenants, (he having sent *Lælius* to *Rome* to carry the News of the Victory) and *Masnissa*, with Orders for them to engage *Vermina*. Coming to a Battle, that *African* was put to Flight, 15,000 of his Soldiers being slain, 3000 taken Prisoners, and 74 Standards carried off.

Q. What were the Conditions of the Peace concluded between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*?

A. "That the *Carthaginians* should continue free, and "preserve their Laws, their Territories, and the Cities "they possessed in *Africa* before the Wars. That they "should deliver up to the *Romans* all Deserters, Slaves, "and Captives, belonging to them; all their Ships "except ten Triremes; all their tame Elephants; and "should not train up any more for the Field.—That "they should not make War out of *Africa*, nor even in "that Country, without having first obtained Leave "from the *Roman* People.—Should restore to *Masnissa* "whatever they had taken from him or his Ancestors. "—Should furnish Money and Corn to the *Roman* "Auxiliaries, till their Ambassadors should be returned "from *Rome*.—Should pay to the *Romans* 10,000 "Euboic * Talents of Silver in 50 annual Payments, and "give 100 Hostages who should be nominated by *Scipio*." These Conditions, which had been dictated by that

* This makes about 1,750,000*l.* *Sterling*, so that the *Carthaginians* paid annually 35,000*l.*

General, were at last accepted by the *Carthaginians*, (tho' very much to their Regret) and the Senate at *Rome* approved of every Thing that had been transacted by *Scipio*, who, after all things were concluded, embarked for *Italy*. He arrived at *Rome* thro' Crowds of People, whom Curiosity had drawn together to behold his March. The most magnificent Triumph that *Rome* had ever seen was decreed this great Man, who was honoured with the Surname of *Africanus*, an Honour till then unknown, no Person before him having assumed the Name of a vanquished Na-

Ann. Rom. 553. tion. Such was the Conclusion of the second *Punic War*, after having lasted 17 Years.

Q. What may be observed with regard to the two rival Commonwealths of *Rome* and *Carthage*?

A. That the latter, at the Beginning of the second *Punic War* and in *Hannibal's Time*, was in its Decline. The Flower of its Youth and its sprightly Vigour were already decayed. It had begun to fall from its exalted Pitch of Power, and was inclining towards its Ruin; whereas *Rome* was then, as it were, in its Bloom and Strength of Life, and swiftly advancing to the Conquest of the Universe. The Reason of the Declension of the one, and the rise of the other, is ascribed, by *Polybius*, to the different Forms of Government established in those Republics, at the time we are speaking of. At *Carthage*, the common People had seized on the supreme Authority, with regard to public Affairs; and the advice of their ancient Men or Magistrates was no longer listened to; all Affairs being transacted by Intrigue and Cabal. On the contrary, at this very time, the *Romans* paid the highest Deference to their Senate, that is, to an Assembly composed of the greatest Sages; and their old Men were attended to and revered as Oracles. *Polybius*, from this Disparity of Government, infers that a People who were thus conducted by the Prudence of old Men, could not fail of getting the better of a State, that was governed wholly by the giddy Multitude. And indeed the *Romans*, guided by the wise Counsels of their Senate,

at last gained the Superiority with regard to the War considered in general, tho' they were defeated in several particular Engagements; and established their Power and Grandeur on the Ruin of their Rivals.

BOOK II. Chap. IV.

*From the second Punic War, to the End of the third,
and the Destruction of Carthage.*

Containing 55 Years.

HOW long was the Interval between the second and third Punic Wars?

A. Upwards of fifty Years, during which very few remarkable Events happened with regard to *Carthage*, and they may all be reduced to two Heads, one whereof is relative to the Person of *Hannibal*, and the other to some particular Differences between the *Carthaginians* and *Masnissa*, King of the *Numidians*. The *Punic Wars* which had brought the *Roman State* almost to the Brink of Ruin, ended nevertheless to the Advantage of it. The *Romans* began more and more to know the Use of Riches; and the polite Arts flourished among them, in Proportion as they grew better acquainted with the *Greeks*. For about this Period lived *Ann. Rom. 553.* *Ennius*, *Licinius Tegula*, and *Cæcilius*, three dramatic Poets; the *Romans* taking great Delight in those Spectacles as well as in the cruel ones of Gladiators, Fight of wild Beasts, &c. Tho' these People were very much eased, by their having finished the late Wars, still their Arms were employed Abroad; for immediately after began, or rather was *Ann. Rom. 554.* continued, the *Macedonian War* against *Philip*, who, in the 549th Year of *Rome*, had concluded a Peace with the People of *Elis* and the *Ætolians*, (Allies to the *Romans*) by the Mediation of the *Epirots*. The Pretence of this new War was, the Danger that threatened *Athens*, which requested Succour from the *Romans*;

mans; it being besieged by order of *Philip*, who himself had invested *Abydos*, situated on the *Hellespont*; but the real Cause was not so much the perpetual Complaints of the Allies of the *Romans*, as the long Hatred the latter had harboured against *Philip*, for his having succoured *Hannibal* soon after the famous Battle of *Cannæ*; and for his having since infringed the Treaty, by sending a Body of Forces, under the Command of *Sopater*, to that General, when encamped near *Zama*. Thus the *Romans*, to assist the *Athenians*, sailed for the first time up the *Ionian Sea*, and went into *Greece*. *Sulpicius Galba* and *Aurelius Cotta*, were then Consuls. *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians* joined *Sulpicius Galba*, who sent 20 Ships to the *Piræus*, under the Command of *Claudius Cento*, who, in Conjunction with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, took and burnt *Chalcis*. *Philip* flew to the Assistance of that City, and had like to have taken *Athens*. About this Period, *Furius*, the *Prætor*, vanquished the *Gauls*, who a little before had revolted and besieged *Cremona*; killing 30,000 Men, with *Hamilcor* a *Carthaginian* Commander; for which he obtained a Triumph, tho' contrary to the Custom; no General having been allowed this Honour who had gained a Victory with the Army of another Commander, as he had done with that of the Consul *Aurelius Cotta*, who was greatly offended on this Account. The next Year, *Bebius*, the *Prætor*, entering inadvertently into the Territories of the *Insubrian Gauls*, lost upwards of 6600 Men. Hardly any Thing material was transacted in *Macedon*, either this or the succeeding Year.

Q. Had not *Philip* a passionate Desire to curb the Roman Power?

A. The thoughts of the War he meditated against them, haunted him Day and Night; insomuch that, in all his Dreams, he spoke of Nothing but of Battles fought against the *Romans*: and would start from his Sleep, quite frantic, and covered with Sweat. A little before he assisted the *Carthaginians*, and at a Time that he was engaged in War with the *Greeks*, *Agelas* of *Naupactus*, made a remarkable Speech before *Philip*, the Substance of which is as follows: "That it were to be wished

" the

" the Greeks would never make War upon one another: " That it would be a great Blessing from the Gods, if " all breathing the same Sentiments, they should all " join Hands, as it were, and unite their whole Force, " to secure themselves from the Insults of the *Barba-*
rians. But if this was not possible, that at least, in " the present Juncture, they ought to unite together, " and labour at the Preservation of all *Greece.* That " they need but turn their Eyes to the formidable Ar- " mies of the two powerful Nations who were actually " engaged in War. That it was evident to any one " who was ever so little skilled in Politics, that the Con- " querors, whether *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, would not " confine themselves to the Empire of *Italy* and *Sicily*; " but would doubtless extend their Projects much far- " ther. That if, instead of barely acting defensively, " he were desirous of Action, and of achieving some " mighty Exploit, he then need but turn his Arms to- " wards *Italy.* That, provided he would but enable " himself to seize, artfully, the first Opportunity that " should present itself; all Things would then unite to " raise him to universal Empire. That, in case he had " any Dispute with the *Greeks*, he should leave the De- " cision of it to another Season. That, if he should " suffer the Storm which was gathering in the West, " to break out over *Greece*, it was very much to be " feared, it would then be no longer in their Power to " take up Arms, to treat of Peace, or to manage their " Affairs as they themselves might desire."

Q. What was transacted in the third Year of the *Ma-*
cedonian War?

A. *Quintus Flaminius* the Consul, was sent thither, who beat *Philip* out of the *Ann. Rom. 556:* Straits, where he was advantageously posted; and, by Sea, his Brother *Lucius*, with *Attalus*, re-covered several Confederate Towns; and besieged *Corinth* itself, but with no Success. The *Prætors* in *Rome* were now increased to six. A Treaty was proposed by *Phi-*
lip, but without Effect. This Monarch, some time after his Defeat, possessing himself of *Argos*, delivered it up to *Nabis*, Tyrant of *Sparta*, upon condition of his join-
ing

ing with him. The following Year, *Flaminus gave Philip* a second Overthrow at *Cynocephala*, *Ann. Rom. 557.* in *Theffaly*, in which Engagement the Romans lost but 700 Men, and the Macedonians 13,000, whereof 8000 were left dead in the Field, and 5000 taken Prisoners; so that *Philip* was forced to sue for Peace, which was granted, the chief Conditions whereof were as follow: "That the Cities of "Greece, both in *Asia* and *Europe*, should be free, and "be governed by their own Laws; that *Philip*, before "the Celebration of the *Isthmian Games*, should evacuate those in which he then had Garrisons; that he "should restore to the Romans all the Prisoners and Deserters, and deliver up to them all the Ships that had "Decks (five excepted) and the grand Galley, having "sixteen Seats of Rowers; and that he should pay 1000 "Talents, one half down, and the other half in ten "Years (fifty every Year) by way of Tribute." Among the Hostages required of him, was *Demetrius* his Son, who accordingly was sent to *Rome*. In this manner *Flaminus* ended the first *Macedonian War*. About this Time two great Victories were obtained over the Gauls; and the rebellious Slaves in *Hetruria* were chastised by *Attilius* the *Prætor*.

Q. Did not the Romans restore all the Grecian Cities to their Liberty?

A. Yes; and for this Purpose ten Commissioners were appointed, with *Flaminus* at their Head, who accordingly went to the great Solemnity of the *Isthmian Games*, where all *Greece* was assembled to behold them. There a Herald made the following Proclamation: "The Senate and People of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius*, the General, having overcome *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, ease and deliver from all Garrisons, and from all Taxes, the *Corinthians*, the *Locri*, the *Phoenicians*, the *Eubœans*, the *Pthiot Achaians*, the *Magnesians*, the *Theffalians*, and the *Perrhaebi*; declare them free, and ordain that they shall be governed by their respective Laws and Usages." At these Words all the Spectators were filled with such Excess of Joy, that they could not believe either their Eyes or Ears; so like a Dream was

was all they then saw and heard. But soon after, fully assured of the Felicity that awaited them, they again were seized with the highest Transports of Delight; and broke into such loud and repeated Shouts, that the Sea echoed the Sound to a great Distance; so true it is, that of all terrestrial Blessings, none are more pleasing to the Populace than Liberty. The Games being ended, all the People ran in Clouds to *Flaminus*, every one being eager to see his Deliverer. They then saluted him, kissed his Hand, and threw Crowns and Festoons of Flowers over him; nor was *Flaminus* less overjoyed than those whom he had thus restored to their Liberty. And indeed no Mortal was ever indulged a more delightful or more glorious Day, than that which then reflected so much Honour on *Flaminus* and all the *Romans*. What are all the Triumphs, when compared to the Things we have here seen? Should we put together all the Trophies, all the Victories and Conquests of *Alexander the Great*, and the greatest Captains; how little would they appear, when opposed to this unparalleled Act of Goodness, Humanity, and Justice!

Q. What were the Transactions of the Year 559?

A. The Streets of *Rome* were filled with Women, who ran tumultuously up and down, because *Portius Cato* the Consul (a severe Moralist) would not suffer the *Oppian Law* (forbidding Women to wear Gold or Purple, and some other Ornaments) to be annulled, to which he nevertheless was at last forced to yield. *Cato* then went to *Spain*, his own Province, where he restored the *Roman Discipline*, and reduced several *Spanish Nations* who had lately revolted. The *Gauls* and *Ligurians* continued still to infest the *Romans*, but not in such a manner as either to prejudice the State, or check the Progress of Learning in *Rome*: For about this Period, *Plautus* had his Plays exhibited in that City, where he brought Comedy to a great Perfection, he being a considerable Genius, and a perfect Master of the *Latin Tongue*, which, tho' it was not then arrived to its utmost Purity, boasted, even at that Time, a noble Strength and Energy.

The

The Romans were engaged in some Wars of no great Consequence in Greece.

Q. When did the War break out against Antiochus?

A. About the Year 561. A powerful Alliance was then formed against Rome by Antiochus in Asia, the Ætolians in Greece, and Hannibal in Africa. This Antiochus, as well as Philip, was one of Alexander's Successors, tho' of another Kingdom; and surnamed the Great, he being a very powerful Prince, and his Dominions very extensive. The Year following War

Ann. Rom. 562. was proclaimed between the Romans and that Monarch, the Occasion of which was this: Ptolemy Philopater, in 550, having left his Son surnamed Epiphanes, a Child of five Years of Age, under the Protection of the Romans; the Inhabitants of Alexandria intreated that People to succour him against Philip and Antiochus, who, by a secret Treaty, had agreed to divide his Dominions between them. The Romans immediately deputed Ambassadors to both those Princes, to request them not to make any attempts against the Infant Monarch; and at the same Time sent Lepidus into Egypt, in Quality of Regent. During this Interval, Ambassadors came to Rome from King Attalus and the Rhodians, to complain of Philip, who thereupon was attacked and defeated by Flaminus, as has been related. But the Ætolians being dissatisfied with the Treaty which the Romans made with Philip, sent Ambassadors to Antiochus (as did also Hannibal) to excite him to declare War against that People; assuring him that all Greece would join in Alliance with him. Not long after, Antiochus having dispossessed the Egyptians of several Cities, the Romans sent Ambassadors to that Prince to complain of his Conduct; but he refusing to give back those Cities, the Romans declared War against him.

Q. Were they not under some Fears on this Occasion?

A. When Advice was brought that Hannibal had made a League with Antiochus, the Romans looked on this War with Dread, the Name of that illustrious Carthaginian being still formidable to them. However, the Senate

Senate deputed *Cneus Servilius* to *Africa*, to watch the Motions of *Hannibal*, and to prompt his Enemies to dispatch him, whenever they should find an Opportunity for it. But this General, perceiving the Storm that was going to break round him, left *Carthage* secretly, and fled to *Antiochus*, who received him as a Present sent from the Gods. Immediately he sent Deputies to *Carthage* to excite the Inhabitants of it to proclaim War against the *Romans*; assuring them, that *Hannibal* would soon join them with a powerful Body of Troops, and that Money should be sent them from *Asia*.

Q. How did the *Romans* behave?

A. They deputed other Ambassadors to *Antiochus*, not so much in the view of obtaining Peace, as to discover the Preparations he was making, and to bribe *Hannibal*; or otherwise, to make the King suspect his Fidelity, by their holding frequent Conferences with him. Accordingly the *Roman* Ambassadors were every Day in *Hannibal's* Company; and acted their Parts so well, that *Antiochus*, imagining this General was reconciled to them, put no longer the same Confidence in him, which was of great Advantage to the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, upon his being suspected by *Antiochus*, spoke as follows to him:

“ The Hatred which I bear the *Romans* is known to
 “ the whole World. I took an Oath to that Purpose in
 “ my most tender Infancy. It was this Hatred has
 “ made me draw the Sword against *Rome* these thirty-
 “ six Years. It was this, even in Times of Peace, that
 “ drove me from my native Country, and forced me
 “ to seek an *Asylum* in your Dominions. For ever
 “ guided and fired by this Hatred; should my Hopes
 “ be eluded, I will fly to every Part of the Globe,
 “ and rouze up all Nations against the *Romans*. I
 “ hate them; will detest them eternally; and know
 “ that they bear me no less Animosity. So long as you
 “ shall continue in the Resolution to take up Arms a-
 “ gainst that People, you may rank *Hannibal* in the
 “ Number of your best Friends: But if other Counsels
 “ incline you to Peace, I desire you, once for all, to
 “ address others for Advice and not me.” However,
Antiochus, disregarding *Hannibal's* Counsel, which was

to make Italy the Seat of the War joined the *Etolians*, and took *Chalcis* in the Island of *Eubœa*; but instead of pursuing his March, he stopt in that City, and there spent the whole Winter in Indolence and effeminate Pleasures. This gave *Acilius* the Consul, the *Roman* General time to advance towards that Prince, who, at the bare Rumour of his Approach, retired from the Straits of *Thermopylæ*, where his whole Army, 500 Soldiers excepted, were cut to Pieces. *Portius Cato* signalized himself greatly in this Battle. *Nasica*, the other Consul, entirely broke all the Power of the *Boian Gauls* in *Italy*.

Q. What remarkable Events followed after?

A. *Polyzenidas*, Admiral of *Antiochus's* Fleet, was defeated by *C. Livius*, who commanded that of the *Romans*. *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the new Consul, was appointed to carry on the War, by Land, against *Antiochus*, in room of *Acilius*; *Scipio Africanus*, his Brother, offering to serve under him as his Lieutenant; and the Command of the Fleet, which *Livius* had before enjoyed, was given to *L. Æmilius Rbegillus*. *Pergamus*, the capital City of King *Eumenes*, a Friend of the *Romans*, was invested, but the Siege was soon raised. *Antiochus* sent to *Æmilius Rbegillus*, then on those Coasts, to desire a Peace; but the *Roman* Admiral would not listen to any Overtures, without the Participation of the Consul. About this Time *Hannibal* was defeated in a naval Engagement by the *Rhodians*; and after this, in a Fight with *Æmilius Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, he lost entirely the Command at Sea. *Antiochus*, terrified at these ill Successes, imprudently left *Lysamachia*; and suffered the *Scipio's* to pass the *Hellespont* without Opposition; and this was the first Time the *Romans* got Footing in *Asia*, which filled *Antiochus* with so much Dread, that he offered to conclude a Peace upon any Terms, and the better to gain the Favour of *Scipio Africanus*, he sent him back his Son (a Prisoner) without Ransom; upon which the other, to retaliate his Kindness, advised him not to engage with his Brother, till he should be returned to the Camp. Not long after, *Scipio* the Consul

ful pressed so hard upon *Antiochus at Magnesia*, that he was forced to draw out his Army, consisting of 70,000 Foot, and 12,000 Horse, which *Scipio* opposed with a much inferior Force. After fighting some Hours, *Antiochus's Troops* were quite defeated ; and his own Chariot, armed with Scythes, being driven quite back upon his Soldiers, contributed very much to his Overthrow. There fell this Day, of *Antiochus's Army*, as well in the Battle, as in the Pursuit and Plunder of the Camp, 50,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse ; 1400 were taken Prisoners, with 15 Elephants and their Guides. The *Romans* lost but 300 Foot and 24 Horse. This Victory won the *Romans* all the Cities of *Asia Minor*, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Q. What were the Terms on which *Antiochus* was allowed Peace ?

A. " That he should evacuate all the Cities and Fortresses he possessed on this Side Mount Taurus ; should defray all the Expences of the War, which were computed at 15 thousand Euboic Talents ; should pay *Eumenes* the 400 Talents, &c. he owed him ; should surrender up *Hannibal*, and give 20 Hostages, to be chosen at the Option of the *Romans*." As King *Eumenes* had assisted the *Romans* in this War, they gave him all the Cities which *Antiochus* lost in it ; and likewise several to the *Rhodians* for the Succours they had furnished. *Lucius Scipio* returned triumphant to *Rome*, and was surnamed *Asia-ticus* for having subdued *Asia*, as his Brother had that of *Africanus*. Thus ended the War with *Antiochus the Great*.

Q. What were the Wars in which the *Romans* next engaged ?

A. Against the *Aetolians*, who were overthrown by *Manlius*, *Scipio's* Colleague, who also fought successfully against the *Gallo-Grecians*, or *Galatians*, in *Asia* ; but Luxury and Indolence were first brought to *Rome* by his Army out of *Asia*. Some time after, *Scipio Africanus* was accused (by the *Ann. Rom. 570.* Instigations, as some say, of *Cato*) of defrauding the Treasury of the Spoils taken in the War ;

and of holding a kind of treasonable Correspondence with *Antiochus*, after this King had sent him back his Son without Ransom. *Scipio* came to the Assembly in white. But instead of answering the Articles that were brought against him, he put on his triumphal Crown, and ended his Speech with these Words——“ On this “ Day, I overthrew the fierce *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*: let us therefore go to the Capitol, and “ thank the Gods for it.” But now the People considering him as their chief Defender, forgot that he stood impeached as a criminal; and attended him to all the Temples in the City, as though it had been the Day of his Triumph. *Scipio*, being afterwards accused by the Senate, withdrew to *Linternum*, a Town of *Campagna*, where he spent the rest of his Days in cultivating the Muses, and the Conversation of learned Men. He died the same Year, and ordered these Words to be engraved on his Tomb: *Ingrata Patria! ne Offa quidem mea babes.* “ Ungrateful Country! thou shalt not “ possess my Ashes.” *Scipio Asiaticus* was also accused of much the like Crimes with his Brother, but escaped Punishment by *Gracchus’s* Means.

Q. Did not *Philopæmenes* die this Year?

A. Yes. He was Generalissimo of the *Ann. Rom. 571. Achaians* in *Greece*, and after gaining several renowned Victories, was taken Prisoner by the *Messenians*. Being carried to *Messene*, in Chains, he was thrown into a dark-Dungeon, where Poison being brought him, he asked the Executioner, “ if he could tell what was become of the young *Megalopolitans* his Followers?” The Executioner answering that he heard most of them had saved themselves by Flight; *Philopæmenes* thanked him with a Nod, and looking kindly on him, “ You bring me (says “ he) good News; and I find we are not all complete- “ ly wretched;” after which, without breathing the least Complaint, he swallowed the deadly Dose; and, laying himself on his Cloke, expired. His Body was afterwards interred in *Megalopolis* with great funeral Solemnity, and the *Messenian* Captives were stoned round his Sepulchre.

Q. What

Q. What became of *Hannibal* ?

A. After flying to several Places, to escape falling into the Hands of the *Romans*, he at last took Refuge in the Court of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*. He made some Stay there, and that Prince soon engaged in War with *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*. By *Hannibal's* Means, *Prusias* won several Victories both by Sea and Land. Services of so important a Nature, seemed to secure for ever to *Hannibal* an undisturbed Asylum at this Prince's Court. However, the *Romans* would not suffer him to be easy there, but deputed **Q. Flaminius** to *Prusias*, to complain of the Protection he gave *Hannibal*. The latter easily guessed the Motive of this Embassy, and therefore did not wait till his Enemies had an Opportunity of delivering him up. He at first attempted to fly; but perceiving that the seven secret Outlets, which he had contrived in his Palace, were seized by the Soldiers of *Prusias*, who, by this Perfidy, intended to make his Court to the *Romans*, he ordered the Poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy Occasion, to be brought him; and taking it in his Hand : " Let us (says he) free the *Romans* from a Disquietude with which they have been long tortured, since they have not the Patience to wait for an old Man's Death. The Victory which *Flaminius* gains over a naked, betrayed Man, will not do him much Honour. This single Day will be a lasting Testimony of the great Degeneracy of the *Romans*. Their Fore-fathers sent Notice to *Pyrrhus*, to desire he would guard against a Traitor who intended to poison him; and that at a Time when this Prince was warring against them, in the very Heart of *Italy*: but their Sons have deputed a Person of consular Dignity, to spirit up *Prusias*, impiously to murder one, who is not only his Friend but his Guett." After calling down Curses upon *Prusias*, and invoking the Gods, the Protectors and Avengers of the sacred Rites of Hospitality, he swallowed the Poison, and died at seventy Years of Age.

Q. What is the Character of *Hannibal* ?

A. During the whole 17 Years that the *Punic* War lasted, two Errors only are objected to him: First, his

not marching, immediately after the Battle of *Cannæ*, his Victorious Forces to *Rome*, in order to besiege that City: Secondly, his suffering their Courage to be softened and enervated, during their Winter quarters in *Capua*: Errors, which only shew that great Men are not so in all Things, and which, perhaps, may be partly excused. But then, for these two Errors, what a Multitude of shining Qualities break round *Hannibal*! How extensive were his Views and Designs, even in his most tender Years? What a Greatness of Soul! What Intrepidity! What Presence of Mind must he have possessed, to be able, even in the Heat and fire of Action, to take all Advantages! With what pleasing Art must he have governed the Minds of Men; insomuch that amidst so great a Variety of Nations which composed his Army, who often were in want both of Money and Provisions, his Camp was not once disturbed with any Insurrection, either against himself or any of his Generals! How fruitful must he have been in Expedients, to be able to carry on, for so many Years, a War in a far distant Country, in spite of the Opposition made by a powerful domestic Faction, which refused him Supplies of every Kind, and thwarted him on all Occasions! It may be affirmed, that *Hannibal*, during the whole Series of this War, seemed the only Prop of the State, and the Soul of every Part of the Empire of the *Carthaginians*, who could never believe themselves conquered, till *Hannibal* confessed that he himself was so. But that Man must know the Character of *Hannibal* very imperfectly, who should consider him only at the Head of Armies. The Particulars we learn from History, prove that he was a great Statesman in every respect. So superior and universal was his Genius, that he grasped all Parts of Government; and, so great were his natural Talents, that he was able to acquit himself of the various Functions of it with Glory. *Hannibal* shone as conspicuously in the Cabinet as in the Field; equally capable to fill the civil or military Employments. In a word, he united in his own Person, the various Talents and Professions of the Sword, the Gown, and the Finances.

Q. How

Q. How did the *Romans* spend the twelve following Years?

Q. They were employed chiefly in War with their Neighbours the *Ligurians* and *Istrians*, as also with the *Sardinians*, *Corsicans*, and with the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*, all whom they subjected. About this Period, the Works of *Numa Pompilius*, King of *Rome*, after lying buried 535 Years in a Stone Chest, were taken up and burnt by Order of the Senate; and not long after, 273,244 free Citizens were cens'd in a Lustration.

Q. What are we told concerning *Perseus* King of *Macedon*?

A. *Philip*, tho' overcome, did nevertheless meditate a new War. He had two Sons, *Perseus* above-mentioned, and *Demetrius*. The *Romans* had sent back the latter, who had been a Hostage in *Rome*, to his Father, after *Antiochus's* Overthrow. *Demetrius* possessed so many excellent Qualities, that he was equally beloved by the *Macedonians* and *Romans*. A Division soon broke out between the two Brothers. *Perseus*, who was the elder, being jealous of his Brother, because of the Friendship which the *Romans* indulged him, slandered him to their Father *Philip*, and shewed him forged Letters as written from *Flaminius* to *Demetrius*. *Philip* being now persuaded that his Son had conspired his Death, caused him to take a Dose of Poison, of which he died the Year of *Rome* 574. But the old Monarch having discovered *Demetrius's* Innocence after his Death, and *Perseus's* Guilt, judged him unworthy of succeeding to his Throne, and would have raised to it *Antigonus* the Son of *Dosson*. However, *Philip's* Death, which happened in 575, broke all his Measures. *Perseus*, who inherited the Hated and Designs of his Father against the *Romans*, after having secured the Crown to himself by the Death of *Antigonus* his Competitor, declared War against them Anno 582; and this was the second *Macedonian War*.

Q. Who were concerned in it?

A. On one side was *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, assisted by *Cotys*, King of *Thrace*, and *Gentius* King of *Illyria*; and on the other, the *Romans*, succoured by *Eumenes*,

Ariarethes, King of Cappadocia, Antiochus, King of Syria, Ptolemy, King of Egypt, and Masinissa, King of Numidia. *Prusias, King of Bitynia* stood neuter, tho' he had married the Sister of *Perseus*. The latter Monarch hearing of the Preparations which the *Romans* were making against him, began to repent for the Steps he had taken, and therefore made Overtures of Peace. A Truce was granted till he might send to *Rome*; but the Senate refusing him Peace, he raised a mighty Army and marched

against the *Romans* commanded by *Licinius*

Ann. Rom. 583. *Licinius* the Consul, who was defeated by *Perseus* on the Banks of the River *Peneus*, he having forced *Licinius* to Action before he could have Time to draw up his Troops; and the *Aetolians* having fled at the first Onset, without striking a Blow. The *Roman Fleet* also fought with some Disadvantage. Notwithstanding this, the *Romans* would not grant *Perseus* a Peace, but upon Condition of submitting himself and his Kingdom to the Discretion of the Senate and

People, which *Perseus* refused. The

Ann. Rom. 584. next Year, *Hostilius* the Consul, succeeding *Licinius*, did not perform any Thing considerable; *Perseus*, tho' victorious, still dreading the Arms of the *Romans*, *Masinissa* had re-inforced

Hostilius with a Body of Troops. *Marcius Philippus* succeeding the latter,

Ann. Rom. 585. *Philippus* succeeding the latter, might have been easily defeated by *Perseus*, had not he, struck with groundless Fear, retreated to *Pydna*, and left all the Passes open to him. *Aemilius Paulus*, a very experienced Commander, Son to the illustrious *Paulus* who so bravely lost his Life at the Battle of *Cannæ*, being now Consul a second Time, was sent against the *Macedonian King*.

Q. How did *Aemilius* conduct this War?

A. With great Judgment; and he foretold his Soldiers (for fear they should be intimidated) an Eclipse of the Moon, which greatly terrified the Enemy, who were Strangers to the natural Cause of it.

Ann. Rom. 586. Both Armies engaging, *Perseus* lost the Battle; and finding himself entirely undone, he abandoned *Macedon*, and fled into the Island of

of Samotrace, (others say Crete) where he hoped to find a secure Asylum in the Temple of *Castor and Pollux*. But *Cneus Octavius*, Admiral of the Roman Fleet, making a Descent in that Island, seized him, with his Wife, his Children, and the Treasures he had left, and carried him to *Æmilius's Camp*. He had a prodigiously magnificent Triumph, (tho' this was opposed by his Soldiers, because they had got very little Plunder in *Macedon*) *Perseus* himself, and his two Sons, in Sable Habits, being led in solemn State and Magnificence before his Chariot. This Prince, and his two Sons, died in Slavery. The youngest, named *Alexander*, became skilful in the Joiner's Art, in turning and writing, and was Clerk to a considerable Officer in *Rome*. Such was the unhappy Destiny of the last Successor of *Alexander the Great*.

Q. Were there not other Triumphs this Year?

A. There were two: A naval one, decreed to *Cneus Octavius* the Praetor at Sea; and another to *L. Anicius*. This General, after overthrowing *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, and taking his Wife and Children, had turned his Arms against the *Epirots*, who had assisted *Perseus*. He took 70 of their Cities, all which he abandoned to the Plunder of his Soldiers, and sold 150,000 Inhabitants for Slaves. *Gentius*, King of the *Illyrians*, marched before the Chariot of *Anicius*, in the Triumph decreed that General. The second *Macedonian War* was ended in three Years Time; and *Æmilius*, by his Conquests, brought prodigious Sums into the *Roman Treasury*.

Q. Did not the *Roman Name* become much more formidable, after the Reduction of *Macedon*?

A. Nations and Kings now emulously strove to sue for the Protection of that People. *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, and *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, were the most forward among these. The former was suspected of having favoured *Perseus* secretly; and to clear himself, had sent his Brother *Attalus* to *Rome*, who was going to beg the Kingdom for himself. *Prusias* came in Person to the City, with *Nicomedes* his Son, whom he left there, in order for his being educated. *Prusias*, in imploring the Assistance of the *Romans*, employed Expressions of

the meanest Adulation, such as calling the Senators his tutelar Gods. Learning now flourished
Ann. Rom. 586. much more than ever among the *Romans*, who had greatly improved them-

selves by their Familiarity with the *Greeks*; and was very much encouraged by *Scipio* (*Æmilius* the Consul's Son, adopted by the Son of *Africanus*) and by *Lælius*, Son to him who had formerly done signal Service in *Africa*. *Scipio* and *Lælius*, who boasted the finest Accomplishments, were the noble Patrons of Eloquence, Poetry, and all the Polite Arts. Under them flourished

Terence, the famous Comic Poet, who
Ann. Rom. 587. writ with vast Accuracy, and very much improved the Graces of the *Roman*

Tongue. The Inhabitants of *Rome* were now considerably increased, 312081 free Citizens being cessed about this Time. For about 18 Years, the *Romans* were employed in less important Wars, with the *Ligurians*, *Corsicans*, *Dalmatians*, *Spaniards*, and *Macedonians*, all which being like so many Revolts, did not any way endanger the *Roman* Commonwealth.

Q. On what Occasion did the third *PUNIC WAR* break out?

A. Because the *Carthaginians* (as was
Ann. Rom. 604. pretended) kept Ships at Sea, contrary to the Tenor of Treaties; and had taken up Arms against *Masnissa*, King of *Numidia*, an Ally of the *Romans*; tho' the real Cause was, the Jealousy and Ambition of that People. *Masnissa* having attacked some Nations who were under the Protection of the *Carthaginians*, these made an Inroad into his Territories. *Masnissa* making Complaints of this at *Rome*, and the *Carthaginian* Deputies answering them there; the Decision of the Quarrel was afterwards removed (by Appointment of the Senate) to *Africa*, on which Occasion the *Carthaginians* were not allowed the least Redress. This People, shocked at the Injustice which was done them, and fearing future Hostilities from *Masnissa*, they began to build Ships, to fortify their Strong-holds, and to put themselves in a Condition to shew him their Resentment at a proper Opportunity. *Masnissa*, grow-

ing

ing haughtier every Day, resolved to seize upon a considerable Province belonging to the *Carthaginians*, who complaining afresh to the Senate on that Account, new Commissioners were appointed, with *Portius Cato* at their Head, to go to *Africa*, and there settle the Divisions. Being arrived, they asked both Parties whether they would stand by their Determination, to which *Masinissa* (as may be supposed) readily consented; but the *Carthaginians* answered, that they would willingly agree to it, provided they should be maintained in the Possession of their Territories, as limited by *Scipio*.

Q. What did the Commissioners after this?

A. They would not make any Decision, but returned to *Rome*, where they gave an Account of the State of *Carthage*, its Situation, Fortifications, and Populousness, all which they exaggerated. *Cato* especially shewed always great Warmth on this Occasion, he, at the Conclusion of every Speech made by him in the Senate, crying, *Delenda est Carthago*, (*Carthage must be destroyed*) and one Day throwing out of the Lappet of his Robe, in the midst of the Senate, some *African* Figs, and the Senators admiring their Size and Beauty; "Know (says " he) that it is but three Days since these Figs were " gathered. Such is the Distance between the Enemy " and us." The Reasons *Cato* gave were, that the *Roman* Grandeur would never be secure unless they razed *Carthage*; and that so long as this City should exist, *Rome* would always have a formidable Rival. But *Scipio Nasica* was of a quite contrary Opinion. *Cato* and *Nasica* had each of them their Reasons for speaking as they did. *Nasica* observing that the People were rose to such a Height of Insolence, as threw them into Excesses of every Kind; perceiving that their Prosperity had swelled them with a Pride which the Senate itself was not able to check; and that their Power was become so enormous, that they were able to draw the City, by Force, into every mad Design they might undertake; *Nasica*, I say, observing this, was desirous that they should still live in Fear of *Carthage*, in order that this might serve as a Curb to restrain their audacious Conduct. For it was his Opinion, that the *Carthaginians* were too weak

to subdue the *Romans*; and, at the same time, so powerful, that it was not for the Interest of the *Romans* to consider them in a contemptible Light. With regard to *Cato*, he thought, that as his Countrymen were become haughty and insolent by Success, and plunged into Dissolution of every kind; nothing could be more dangerous, than for them to have a rival City to whom the *Romans* were odious; a City that till now had been powerful, but was become, by its Misfortunes, more wise and provident than ever; and therefore that it would be best to remove the Fears of the Inhabitants entirely, with regard to a foreign Power; since they had, within their own Walls, all the Opportunities to immerse themselves in Excesses of every kind.

Q. Did not the Opinion of *Cato* prevail?

A. Yes; and the *Romans* came to a Resolution to destroy *Carthage*; but in the mean time, thought it would not be proper to invade it, till *Masinissa* should have weakened it still more by War. Accordingly this Prince levied a strong Army, as did also the *Carthaginians*, who gave the Command of theirs to *Asdrubal*. They were going to engage, when *Scipio* happened to arrive at *Masinissa's* Camp, upon which both Parties agreeing to make him the Arbiter, were seemingly reconciled: but notwithstanding this, *Gulussa*, *Masinissa's* eldest Son, cut to Pieces the greatest Part of the *Carthaginian* Forces, with *Asdrubal* the General.

Q. Did not the *Carthaginians* resent this?

A. So far from it, that they sent Ambassadors again to *Rome*, to assure the Senate, that they would pay an implicit Obedience to the *Romans*, and be ever dependent on them. Notwithstanding this, the latter People still persisted in their Resolution of destroying *Carthage*;

and accordingly the next Year, as soon *Ann. Rom. 605.* as *Censorinus* and *Manlius* were elected

Consuls, they were ordered to go for *Africa* with 150 Gallies, 80,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, which filled the *Carthaginians* with the utmost Dread, (War being proclaimed against them) and thereupon they again sent Ambassadors to *Rome*. These told *Censorinus*, " That they were deputed by the Senate of

" *Carthage*,

" *Cartbage*, to complain of the Violation of a Peace, which had been so solemnly sworn, and so religiously observed on their Part ; and to offer the *Romans* an unlimited Submission, provided they might be allowed a Peace." Answer was made, " That the Senate of *Rome* granted them their Liberty, the Enjoyment of their Laws, all their Territories, and other Possessions, provided that, within 30 Days, they should send, as Hostages to *Lilybæum*, 300 young *Carthaginians*, of the first Distinction, and comply with the Orders of the Consul." The *Carthaginians* submitted to these Conditions, tho' so very severe, and accordingly the Hostages were ordered to go. But no Spectacle was ever more moving than their Departure. Nothing was now heard but Cries, nothing seen but Tears, and all Places echoed with Groans and Lamentations. The unhappy Mothers quite bathed in Tears, tore their dishevelled Hair, beat their Breasts ; and as tho' Grief and Despair had distracted them, they howled in such a Manner, as might have moved the most savage Breasts to Compassion. But the Scene was still more mournful, when the fatal Moment of their Separation was come ; when after having accompanied their dear Children to the Ship, they bid them a long Farewel, persuaded that they should never see them more ; wept a Flood of Tears over them, embraced them with the utmost Fondness, clasped them eagerly in their Arms, and could not be prevailed upon to part with them, till they were forced away, which was more grievous than if their Bowels were torn asunder. The Hostages were carried, first to *Sicily*, and afterwards to *Rome* ; and the Consuls landing at *Utica* soon after, the *Carthaginians* sent their Commissioners to wait upon them, and know their Pleasure.

Q. What followed upon this ?

A. The *Carthaginian* Deputies being come to the *Roman* Camp, were told by *Censorinus*, that the People of *Cartbage* must immediately deliver up all their Arms to him, to which they were forced to consent ; and accordingly a Multitude of Waggons loaded with Suits of Armour, Darts, Javelins, Engines, &c. were carried to the

the Roman Camp. *Censorinus*, after applauding their ready Compliance, told them, " That the Roman People were resolved to raze *Carthage*; but that the Inhabitants might remove from it, and build another City in their own Dominions, provided it were but 10 Miles from the Sea." The Instant the Consul had pronounced this fulminating Decree, nothing was heard but lamentable Shrieks and Howlings. The *Carthaginians* neither knew where they were, nor what they did, but rolled themselves in the Dust, tearing their Clothes, and unable to vent their Grief any otherwise, but by broken Sighs and deep Groans. Being afterwards a little recovered, tho' they had neither Men nor Arms, they nevertheless shut their Gates, and resolved to make a stout Resistance. The Consuls made no great Haste to march against *Carthage*, not suspecting they had Reason to be under any Apprehensions from that City, since it was disarmed. The *Carthaginians* now appointed as General (without the Walls) *Asdrubal*, who was at the Head of 20,000 Men, and with him *Phamæas* General of the Horse; and the Command of the Troops, within the Walls, was given to another *Asdrubal*, Grandson of *Magonissa*. They now set about making Arms with incredible Expedition; the Temples, the Palaces, and open Squares were all changed into so many arsenals, where Men and Women worked Day and Night; and because Materials were wanting to make Ropes, the Women cut off their Hair, and abundantly supplied their Wants on this Occasion.

Q. What did *Censorinus* and *Manlius* the Consuls do in this Interval?

A. They came before the City, and invested it, but were repulsed at every Assault. The *Carthaginians* were for ever making the boldest Sallies, in order to repulse the Besiegers, to burn their Engines, and harass their Foragers. *Censorinus* attacked the City on one Side, and *Manlius* on the other. *Scipio Æmilianus* before mentioned, at that Time a Tribune in the Army, signalized himself greatly; and drew the Troops from several Dangers, into which their imprudent Leaders had plunged them. *Scipio* won over to the Romans, *Phamæas*, General

neral of the *Carthaginian Horse*. About this Time died *Masinissa* King of *Numidia*, aged 90 Years, leaving 54 Sons, of whom three only were legitimate, viz. *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Masianabal*, whom he left, with his Kingdom under the Guardianship of *Scipio*. In the same Year died *Cato*, at 85 Years of Age ; he not living to see the Destruction of *Carthage*, which he had so earnestly wished. *Manlius* the Consul sent *Scipio* to *Rome* ; the true Motive of which was, because he eclipsed his Glory, and had won the Hearts of all the Soldiers.

Q. Who were the next Consuls ?

A. Spurius Posthumius and Calpurnius

Piso. The latter arrived in *Africa* in *Ann. Rom. 606.* the Beginning of the Spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this Campaign. The *Romans* were even defeated on several Occasions, carried on the Siege of *Carthage* but slowly, and the Besieged had recovered their Spirits. Their Troops were increased considerably, they getting daily new Allies ; and they even sent an Express as far as *Macedonia*, to *Andriscus*, to exhort him to carry on the War with Vigour against the *Romans* ; promising to assist him with Money and Ships.

Q. Who was *Andriscus* ?

A. An Impostor, who assumed the Name of *Philip*, and pretended to pass for the Son of *Perseus*. He began to make an Insurrection in *Macedonia*, *Anno 602*, under the Consulate of *Claudius Marcellus* and *Valerius Flaccus*. He was then discovered by the Governors of that Province who seizing and sending him to *Rome*, he was there imprisoned till further Orders. However, escaping out of Confinement, he returned secretly to *Macedonia*, where, being favourably received by some of his Adherents, he assumed the Title of King. At last, after defeating and killing *Juvencius* the *Prætor*, he himself was overthrown and taken by *Metellus*, and sentenced to die ; having first adorned the Triumph of that Consul, who, for his reducing *Macedonia*, was surnamed *Macedonicus*.

Q. To return to the Series of our History : Were not the *Romans* uneasy at the little Progress made by their Generals before *Carthage* ?

A. Yes,

A. Yes ; and being determined to put an End to this War, they made choice of *Scipio*, he being judged most capable of finishing it. The Consuls being exasperated at this Choice, opposed it ; and one of them going to *Rome*, to preside at the *Comitia*, represented there, that *Scipio* had not yet attained the Age (43) required in those who were to be chosen Consuls. However, the Tribunes of the People, having no regard to his Remonstrances, adhered to *Scipio* ; and declared that his Virtue and Courage more than compensated what was wanting in Age. At last about the Close of this Year, he was appointed Consul, (tho' he had sued only for the *Ædileship*) with all the Prerogatives which a Man invested with that Office could desire ; insomuch that *Livius Drusus* his Colleague, requiring to have the Lots cast, as usual, for the Provinces, the Senate and People would not allow it. *Africa* was therefore allotted for him for his Province, whither he arrived in 607.

Q. What did *Scipio* upon his Arrival ?

A. His first Care was to revive the Discipline among the Troops, which had been entirely neglected, and after this he prepared seriously to carry on the Siege. Soon after he took a District or Part of the City called *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the Citadel, called *Byrsa*. Then, securing the Isthmus which led to the City, he cut off all Provisions out of the Country, and blocked up the Harbour ; however the Besieged, with wonderful Industry, cut a new Passage into the Sea by which, at certain Times, they could receive Necessaries from the Army without. During the Winter Quarters *Scipio* endeavoured to defeat the Enemy's Troops without the City, and in one Engagement slew 70,000 of them. He also took a Fort called *Nepheris*, which contributed very much to the taking of *Carthage*, as they now could not have any Relief from Abroad. Early the next Spring, *Scipio* attacked, at one and the same Time, the Harbour called *Cotbon*, and the Citadel. He then marched towards the *Forum*, where was a most miserable Spectacle of slaughtered People ; for some, cut to Pieces by the murdering Weapons ; others, half killed by the Fall of Houses ; others, torn Limb from Limb, or half

half buried in the Earth, and trampled on, lay mangled in Heaps after a most shocking Manner.

Q. Did not the Citadel still hold out ?

A. Yes ; but on the seventh Day a Company of Men appeared, who humbly besought the Romans to spare the Lives of all those who should be willing to leave the Citadel, which being granted (Deserters only excepted) there came out 50,000 Men and Women, who were sent into the Fields under a strong Guard. The Deserters, who were about 900, finding they could not be allowed Quarters, fortified themselves in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, with *Asdrubal*, his Wife and two Children. But being at last preyed upon by Famine, and *Asdrubal* desiring to save his own Life, came down privately to *Scipio*, and threw himself at his Feet. The Roman General shewed him immediately to the Deserters, who, transported with Rage and Fury at the Sight, vented Millions of Imprecations against him, and set fire to the Temple. As the Flames were spreading, *Asdrubal's* Wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself, with her two Children, in Sight of *Scipio*, spoke as follows, with a loud Voice : " I call not down Curses upon thy Head, O Roman, for thou only takest the Privilege allowed thee by the Laws of War. But may the Gods of *Cartilage*, and thou in Concert with them, punish, according to his Deserts, the false Wretch who has betrayed his Country, his Gods, his Wife, and his Children ! " Then addressing *Asdrubal* ; " Perfidious Wretch ; thou basest of Creatures ! This Fire will presently consume both me and my Children : But as to Thee, go ; adorn the gay Triumph of the Conqueror ; and suffer, in the Sight of all *Rome*, the Tortures thou so justly deservest ! " She had no sooner spoke these Words, but snatching up her Children, she cut their Throats, threw them into the Flames, afterwards rushed into them herself, and was followed by all the Deserters.

Q. When was *Cartilage* destroyed ?

A. The Year of *Rome* 607 or 608, and 708 Years after the first building of it. It contained a numberless Multitude of Inhabitants ; and was so large, being 24 Miles in Compas,

Compass, that the burning of it continued 17 Days together. *Scipio*, when he saw this famous City (the mighty Rival of *Rome*) in Ashes, could not refuse Tears to its unhappy Fate. He gave the Plunder of *Carthage* (the Gold, the Silver, the Statues, and other Offerings of the Temples excepted) to his Soldiers for some Days, and afterwards bestowed many military Honours on them. When the News of the taking of this City was brought to *Rome*, the People abandoned themselves to the most immoderate Transports of Joy. All Ranks and Degree's of Men emulously strove who should shew the greatest Gratitude towards the Gods ; and the Citizens were, for many Days, employed wholly in solemn Sacrifices, in public Prayers, in Sports and Spectacles. The Senate deputed some of their own Members to *Carthage*, who, in Conjunction with *Scipio*, were ordered to dispose and settle all Things relating to the Country. These commanded, that *Carthage* should be entirely razed ; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, they denounced heavy Imprecations on any Person who should make any such Attempt. All the Cities which assisted in this War were ordered to be demolished, and the Lands given to such as were Friends and Allies of the *Romans* ; and the rest of the Towns were to become Tributaries, and be governed annually by a *Prætor* ; all the Prisoners, some of the principal excepted, were sold. After Matters were thus adjusted, *Scipio* returned to *Rome*, where he made his Entry in Triumph. So magnificent a one had never been seen before, the whole exhibiting nothing but Statues ; rare invaluable Pictures, and other Curiosities, which the *Carthaginians* had, for many Years, been collecting in other Countries ; not to mention the Money that was brought into the public Treasury, which amounted to immense Sums. *Scipio*, to whose Wisdom and Valour the Destruction of *Carthage* was owing, was honoured with the same Surname as his Grandfather, and called the younger *Scipio Africanus*.

BOOK II. Chap. V.

*From the End of the third PUNIC War to the
perpetual Dictatorship of SYLЛА.*

Containing 64 Years.

QWHY did the *Romans* proclaim War against the *Corinthians*?

A. Because they had affronted the *Roman Ambassadors*, sent to dissolve the Confederacy, and to leave the Cities to the Government of their own peculiar Laws ; and had engaged the *Achaians* to join with them. *Corinth* was one of the finest and most powerful Cities in *Greece*. The chief Promoter of this War was *Critolaus*, who was overthrown by *Metellus*. *Memmius* or *Mummius* the Consul succeeding him in his Province, defeated the *Achaian General*, and afterward entering *Corinth*, razed it ; because the *Roman Ambassa-* *Ann. Rom. 608:* *dors* had been affronted in that City.

Mummius carried all the rich Spoils he had taken in *Corinth* to *Rome*, which he entered in Triumph, and was surnamed *Achaicus* ; because he reduced those Parts, and all *Greece*, with *Epirus*, into the Form of a Province, called afterwards by the general Name of *Achaia*.

Q. What was doing in *Spain* ?

A. *Viriatus*, a Shepherd, who made himself Captain of a Band of Robbers, and afterwards became General of a numerous Party of Men like himself, stirred up so many Nations in *Spain* to rebel, that the *Romans* were in danger of being dispossessed of that Country ; *Viriatus* having reduced *Q. Fabius*, the Brother of the younger *Scipio*, to such Extremities, that he was forced to accept of Peace upon equal Terms. *Cæpion*, who was Consul the succeeding Year, refused to stand to those Conditions, and thereupon continued the War. This Consul having bribed three of *Viriatus's* *Ann. Rom. 621:* Friends, they murdered him in his

Sleep,

Sleep, a Circumstance that brought great Odium on *Cæpio*; and, at the same Time, reflected no little Honour on *Viriatus*, as it shewed that he must necessarily have been very formidable to the *Romans*.

Q. When did the *Numantine War* break out?

A. The Year of *Rome* 612. After *Viriatus*'s Death, the War was carried on with greater Vigour than ever in *Spain*. The Inhabitants of *Segeda*, a considerable City of *Celtiberia*, having fled from the *Romans*, put themselves under the Protection of the *Numantines*. These sent a Deputation to *Metellus*, to beseech him to extend his Clemency towards them, they being their Relations and Allies; but the Proconsul disregarding their Intreaties, commanded them to surrender up those Rebels. The *Numantines* looking upon this Order as too severe, would not obey it, and prepared for a vigorous Resistance. And accordingly *Numantia*, which stood on a Hill

Ann. Rom. 612. between two Rivers, and was unfortified with Towers or Ramparts, was invested by *Metellus*. *Metellus* not making any Progress in the Siege, *Quintius*

Ann. Rom. 613. *Pompeius* was sent next Year in his room; and concluded a Treaty with them on Conditions no ways honourable to the *Romans*. In the Year 615, the People of *Rome*, disapproving of the Peace concluded with the *Numantines*, sent *Pompilius Lænas* the Consul against them, who was repulsed several times, and sustained great Losses; notwithstanding which he was continued in the Command the following Year. Being still more unsuccessful than before, *Mancinus* was sent in his room. This Consul was defeated in four Engagements, particularly in the last; the *Numantines* then seizing his Camp, afterward attacked him in a narrow Passage, where they fought with the greatest Advantage, and made him submit to a most ignominious Peace. However, the Senate refused to ratify it, and were so much exasperated against *Mancinus*, that after stripping him quite naked, and tying his Hands behind him, they sent him to the Enemy, in order that they might revenge themselves on him for their breaking the ignominious Peace he had concluded. But the Be-

sieged

sieged would not take him in, saying, they would not expiate the Violation of the public Faith by the Blood of one Person only.

Q. Who succeeded Mancinus?

A. *Æmilius Lepidus*, who, to make the swifter Progress, sent for *Brutus* the *Prætor*. These contending themselves with blocking *Numantia*, laid waste the open Country, and invested *Palantia*; but were obliged to raise the Siege, after sustaining many Losses. The Senate being informed of their ill Conduct, removed them from the Command, and appointed *Calpurnius Piso* to continue the War; but this Consul having a still more dastard Soul than any of them, did not dare so much as to appear before *Numantia*. At last, the Senate and People of *Rome*, exasperated at the perpetual Affronts their Generals met with before that City, resolved to create as Consul, a Person whose Talents and Abilities might promise them Success against *Numantia*. For this Purpose *Scipio*, who had destroyed *Carthage*, was chosen.

Accordingly he set *Ann. Rom. 619.* out for *Spain*, and being arrived there

'his first Care was, to restore Discipline, the want of which had been the Cause of all the ill Success the *Romans* had hitherto met with; but coming to engage, he found the Valour of the Inhabitants so extraordinary, that he resolved to fight no more in that Manner, but lay close Siege to *Numantia*; which he did with all possible Diligence. The Besieged made all the Resistance that could be expected from a Set of Intrepid Men who were brought to Despair, but were at last overpowered, and their City razed, *15 Ann. Rom. 622.* Months after *Scipio's Arrival in Spain*.

Q. In what manner did those brave Citizens end their Lives?

A. Being preyed upon by Famine, and finding that *Scipio* would not allow them any other Terms than the surrendering at Discretion, they were seized with such Despair, that, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Romans*, they murdered their Wives and Children, and burnt them with their most precious Effects; after which they either laid violent Hands on themselves, or rushed

rushed into the midst of the *Romans*, and were cut to Pieces, scarce a Man being left to adorn the General's Triumph. This famous City, situated in *Gallæcia*, had for 14 Years together, (nine of which they were besieged) withstood 40,000 *Romans* with only 4000 Men, and overpowered them on many Occasions. *Scipio*, besides the Surname *Africanus*, which he had before, was now called also *Numantinus*. All *Spain*, which not long before had been divided into the Provinces of *Terraconensis*, *Boetica*, and *Lusitanica*, were now subjected more than ever. At this time lived *Lucilius*, the first famous Satirist that *Rome* produced. The Slaves revolted this Year in *Sicily*, but were soon subdued.

Q. Did not the *Romans* degenerate very much ?

A. After the Ruin of *Carthage*, of *Corinth*, and *Numantia*, *Rome*, tho' still jealous of preserving its Power and Glory without Doors, was yet greatly changed with regard to its Citizens : Those Citizens, who had formerly discovered a Spirit, which no Difficulty could surmount ; which was far from sinking at the Sight of Danger and Fatigue ; and had so often braved Death in the most frightful Shapes ; those very *Romans* yielded themselves up an inglorious Prey to Ease and Affluence ; and 'twas from this fatal Degeneracy that *Rome* met with its Destruction in its Happiness, and its Ruin in its Grandeur. The Desire of accumulating Wealth, which was afterwards the most prevailing Passion, began first to discover itself ; afterwards arose an Ambition and Thirst after Dignities and Honours, and both of them united, were the Sources of all their Misfortunes. Avarice soon banished Plain-dealing, Justice, Probity, and all the social Virtues ; and made way for Pride, Cruelty, the Contempt of the Gods, and a mercenary Prostitution of all Things. Ambition taught them the Arts of Treachery and Dissimulation, and the insidious employing of good or bad Expedients to attain their several Ends. Those Vices took root insensibly, and were sometimes punished ; but when, like a pestilential Distemper, they had diffused their Venoin in all Places, there was a new Face of Things in the City ; and that Government, once so famous for Lenity and Justice, degenerated into Cruelty and

and Oppression. For tho' the *Romans*, after this Period, subdued many powerful Nations ; tho' Learning and the polite Arts were increasing daily, and they atchieved mighty Conquests Abroad ; yet their Glory was sullied at Home by inglorious Factions, Jealousies, and Feuds, which were sometimes carried to that Height, that they even cut one another's Throats ; the first remarkable Instance whereof was that of *Tiberius Gracchus*. This Man, being Grandson, by the Mother's side, to the elder *Scipio Africanus*, and of a restless Disposition, had been concerned in the dishonourable Treaty concluded by *Mancinus* in *Spain* ; and being reflected upon on this account by the Senate, he strove to make himself popular, by restraining the unjust Oppressions, which increased daily, of the *Patricians*. It was a Custom among the *Romans*, to divide the Lands taken from the Enemy among their own Citizens, if arable ; if not, they let them out by the Censors, to the *Italians* or ordinary *Romans*. But Corruption increasing daily, the poor Peasants were dispossessed of their Lands by the Rich ; whereby the Public was defrauded of its Revenues, and the Poor of their Subsistence.

Q. Did not *Gracchus* endeavour to reform these Abuses ?

A. Being elected Tribune, he preferred a Law, forbidding any Person to possess above 500 Acres of the public Lands, and commanded the rest to be divided among the Poor. To prevent any Man from enlarging his Portion or Division by Purchase, three Men were appointed annually, to judge what Lands were public and what private ; all which Proceedings disgusted the *Patricians* very much ; because they, by this Law, would be obliged to give up a considerable Part of their Estates ; and for this Reason they insinuated to the People, that the only Design of *Gracchus*, in introducing the Law above-mentioned, was, to perplex the State, and bring all Things into Confusion. However, *Gracchus* triumphed over the Opposition that was made to him, by his eloquent and artful Speeches ; and still endeavouring to get the *Agrarian Law* preferred, he was opposed by *Otavius*, one of his Colleagues ; and for that Reason obliged

obliged the latter to quit his Office, after which he appointed *Mummius*, a Friend of his, to succeed him. This unprecedented Action disgusted many of *Gracchus's* Adherents; upon which, to ingratiate himself still more with the People, he offered to prefer a Law for distributing the Money of *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, which he had lately left, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. The Senate opposed this Design, and commanded *Mutius Scævola*, the Consul, to defend the Commonwealth by Force of Arms; which he refusing, *Scipio Nasica*, then *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Gracchus's* Kinsman, a Person of great Merit, and a sincere Lover of the Commonwealth, went to the Capitol whither *Gracchus* had withdrawn himself; crying aloud to all those who had the Welfare of their Country at Heart, to follow him. At these Words, the Senators, the principal *Patricians*, and the greatest Part of the *Roman Knights*, with such of the People (armed with Clubs, Staves, &c.) as had not joined in the Insurrection, rushed upon *Gracchus*, whilst he was making a Speech in order to get himself elected Tribune the next Year; and, with a Piece of a Seat, beat out his Brains; 300 of his Followers being killed at the same Time. This was the first Sedition, since the Expulsion of the Kings, that ended with the Effusion of Blood. After the fatal End of *Gracchus*, there was not one Tribune found, either disinterested or generous enough to undertake publicly the Defence of the Oppressed. Avarice, Self-interest, a Desire of rising in the World by the Favour of the Great, had succeeded that noble Regard which the *Romans* once had for their Country. Pride and Luxury were now every where seen, instead of that noble Disinterestedness, and that Love for their Country, to which the *Romans* owed their Grandeur and Power.

Q. Did not a War break out on occasion of *Attalus's* Kingdom of *Pergamus* in *Asia*?

A. Yes. This Monarch, as was observed before, had, by his last Will, made the *Roman People* his Heirs. But after his Death, *Aristonicus*, his Bastard-brother, seized on the Kingdom as his Right. The *Romans* sent
against

against him *Licinius Crassus* the Consul, whom several Monarchs assisted with a Multitude of Troops, and nevertheless *Crassus* was defeated and slain. His Head was afterwards presented to *Aristonicus*. *Perpenna* the Consul succeeding *Licinius Crassus*, engaged *Aristonicus*, who being vanquished, fled to *Stratonice*. *Perpenna* invested that City, and starving it, and forcing *Aristonicus* to surrender, he was sent to *Rome*; but the Consul died at *Pergamus*. The following Year *Aquilius* the Consul ended the War of *Asia*; and led *Aristonicus* in Triumph, tho' he had been taken by *Licinius Crassus*. *Aristonicus* was afterwards strangled in Prison by Command of the Senate. A *Lustrum* being performed, 330,823 free Citizens were censed. Notwithstanding the great Precautions which were taken to hinder *Carthage* from ever being rebuilt, in less than twenty-five Years after the Destruction of it, and even in *Scipio's* Life-time, *Caius* (younger Brother to *Tiberius Gracchus*) to ingratiate himself with the People, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a Colony of 6000 Citizens for that Purpose. The Senate hearing, that the Workmen had been terrified by many unlucky Omens, at the Time they were tracing the Limits, and laying the Foundations of the new City, would have suspended the Attempt; but the Tribune, not being over-scrupulous in religious Matters, carried on the Work, and finished it in a few Days. This was the first Colony that ever was sent out of *Italy*.

Q. What other Actions are related of *Caius Gracchus* above-mentioned?

A. Being appointed one of the *Triumviri* for dividing the Lands, he, with his two Colleagues, undertook the Patronage of the Law enacted by his Brother *Tiberius Gracchus*. As he exerted himself with great Vigour on this Occasion, such Perplexity and Confusion arose about the Divisions, Computations, and Removals, that the *Italians*, finding themselves treated with great Severity, put themselves under the Protection of *Scipio*. All he

did was, to move in the Senate, that the *Triumviri* might be divested of the executive Power, and this be lodged in some others; and accordingly it was conferred on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Consul, who soon resigned it. The People were now highly exasperated at *Scipio*; they considered him as an Ingrate, and a Favourer of the *Italians* more than themselves; which disadvantageous Opinion of him was heightened by his approving of *Gracchus's* Death, and his censuring the Populace for being dissatisfied at it. But so unhappy was *Scipio*, that one Morning he was found dead in his Bed; *Sempronia*, his Wife, and *Cornelia*, his Mother-in-law, who was Mother of the *Gracchi*, being suspected of having poisoned him. He was then about 57 Years of Age. *Scipio* possessed all the exalted Qualities both of the Sword and Gown. The whole Tenor of his Life, whether with regard to his Actions, his thoughts, or Words, was conspicuous for its great Beauty and Regularity. No Man could blend more happily Repose and Action, nor employ his Leisure with greater Delicacy and Taste: So that he was divided between Arms and Books, between the military Labours of the Camp, and the peaceful Business of the Cabinet; where he either exercised his Body in Toils of War, or his Mind in the Study of the Sciences; by which he shewed, that nothing does greater Honour to a Person of Distinction, of what Quality or Profession soever, than the adorning his Soul with Knowledge. 'Twas commonly reported that *Scipio*, in Conjunction with *Lælius*, assisted *Terence* in the writing of his Comedies. The strict Union that was between *Scipio* and *Polybius*, gave the finishing Stroke to the exalted Qualities, which, by the Superiority of his Genius and Disposition, and the Excellency of his Education, were the Subject of Admiration. *Scipio* never gave into the fashionable Debaucheries and riotous Excesses, into which the young People at *Rome* so wantonly immersed themselves. But he was sufficiently compensated for this Self-denial of all destructive Pleasures, by the vigorous Health he ever enjoyed; and which enabled him to taste Pleasures of a much purer and more exalted Kind, and

to perform the mighty Actions that threw so bright a Glory round him.

Q. Are not some other Incidents related of *Caius Gracchus* ?

A. Being elected Tribune, he found an Opportunity to shew the great Enmity he bore the Senate. He preferred several Laws, and one, among the rest, for dividing the public Corn to every Man monthly. Afterwards procuring himself to be continued in the Tribuneship another Year, he made a very strict Enquiry into the late Corruptions of the Senators, such as their taking Bribes, &c. and found Means to transfer the Power of judging corrupt Magistrates from them to the *Equites* or Knights, which produced a remarkable Change in the Government. These Knights, who had been instituted by *Romulus*, had no particular Authority, Rank, or Order, till the Law enacted by *Gracchus*, which transferred this Kind of Judgments to them. The *Roman* Citizens were hereby made to consist of three Orders, viz. the Senatorian, the Equestrian, and Plebeian. However, the great Power of these Knights grew extremely prejudicial to the State, till, at last, their Authority was lessened. As for *Caius Gracchus*, he ingratiated himself more and more with the Commons, by making other new Laws in their Favour; but being frustrated in one of his Attempts, he went to *Africa*, with *Flaccus* his Colleague, in order to plant a Colony where *Carthage* stood, as was observed above. Being returned to *Rome*, he put up, a third Time, for the Tribuneship, but lost it. And now many of his Laws were annulled, *Opimius*, who was Consul at this Time, being his professed Enemy, and endeavouring to find some plausible Pretence to put him to Death.

Q. Did *Opimius* succeed in his Design ?

A. *Caius Gracchus* now resolved to raise Forces, and thereupon withdrew to the Capitol with several of his Friends, who were privately armed, where they killed one *Antilius*, a *Lictor*. This Murder made a great noise, when the Senate investing *Opimius* with an extraordinary power, and the Knights appearing in Arms, *Caius* and all his Friends retired to the *Aventine* Hill, and

there fortified themselves. As *Caius* was going out of his House, his Wife ran to him; when clasping him in her Arms, and shedding a Flood of Tears, she spoke thus: "Dearest *Caius*, whither art thou going, and why dost thou leave thy House so early? Dost thou not know that the Russians who murdered thy Brother, are preparing Thee the same unhappy Fate; and that thy only Defenders are a vile Populace, who will basely abandon Thee at the least Danger? Remember that *Rome* is no longer what it was; for Virtue is banished from thence, and Power gives Law to all Things. And how canst thou confide in the Authority of the Laws, or even in the Justice of the Gods; those blind or impotent Gods who permitted thy Brother *Tiberius* to be assassinated? But now the Consul pressed hard upon *Caius*, and a Proclamation was published, offering to any Person who should bring his Head, the Weight of it in Gold. *Caius* now flew to a Grove consecrated to the *Furies*, on the other Side the *Tiber*; but believing it not possible for him to escape those who were in Search of him, he prevailed with *Philocrates*, his faithful Slave, to kill him; after which *Philocrates* murdered himself on the Body of his Master. One *Septimuleius*, finding *Caius*'s Body, cut off Ann. Rom. 631. the Head, and filling it with Lead, carried it to *Opimius*, by whose Severity no less than 3000 Mutineers were put to Death. The *Gracchi* had introduced so great a Change in the State; and the public Tranquillity was so much disturbed, especially by the Disunion of Patrons and Clients, that the Frame of the Roman Republic became very much unsettled, and more exposed to Revolutions than ever; and tho' the *Gracchi* might have no other View than a Reformation, there yet was but too much Reason to fear, that Destruction would ensue from such Commotions in a State that was so much depraved by the Affluence of its Wealth, and the Greatness of its Power. However, the intestine Feuds were quieted for the present by the Death of the younger *Gracchus*; after which the Law relating to the Division of Lands was annulled.

Q. What Incidents happened during this Interval?

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A. An Insurrection being made by the *Sardinians*, they were reduced by *Au-
relius*. About this *Era*, *Africa* was trou-
bled with a dreadful Pestilence, which destroyed num-
berless Multitudes of Men, Cattle, and Fowl, occasioned
by an incredible Number of Locusts, which spreading
over the whole Country, and destroying the Corn, Fruits,
and even Trees, were at last carried by the Wind into
the *Mediterranean*; and putrifying there, infected the Air
after a surprising Manner. *Metellus* the
Consul, subdued the Islands *Baleares*, *Ann. Rom. 633.*
now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*, and
suppressed the Pirates who used to take Harbour in them.

Q. Who were the *Allobroges*?

A. A People living about the Countries now called *Dauphiné* in *France* and *Savoy*. *Fulvius*, one of the Accomplices of *C. Gracchus*, and who was killed in the Sedition with him, had begun this War in 629, when he was *Coniul*; and it was ended in 633, by *Q. Fabius Maximus* (Grandson to *Paulus Aemilius*, and adopted into the *Fabian Family*) whilst *Opimius*, his Colleague, was employed in quelling the Insurrection raised by *C. Gracchus*. *Cassius Longinus* and *Domitius Calvinus* being *Consuls* in 630, the former crossed the *Alps*, in order to succour the People of *Marseilles*, Allies of the *Romans*; and vanquished the *Salii*, by whom the *Marseillians* had been invaded, and which gave Rise to the War of the *Allo-
broges*. The *Salii* renewing their Hostilities, *Caius Sextus*, at the Head of a mighty Army, likewise passed the *Alps*; defeated that People; and, in order to make a Settlement in this Part of *Gaul*, laid the Foundations of the City of *Aix*, calling it *Aqua Sextiæ*, from his own Name; planted a Colony there of 6000 Inhabitants, and built a Fortress for the Security of all such *Romans* as should go into *Gaul*. After this *Q. Fabius Maximus* above-mentioned, overthrew *Bituitus*, King of the *Ar-
verni*, or People of *Auvergne* in *France*; took him Prisoner, with *Cogentiatuſ* his Son, after killing 120,000 of his Men. This bloody Battle was fought near the Banks of the *Rhone*; and *Fabius Maximus*, at his Return to *Rome*, was honoured with a Triumph, and sur-

named *Allobrogicus*; about which Time *Gallia Narbonensis* being made a *Roman Province*, a *Colony* was sent thither in 636. In 640, the *Scordisci*, a sort of *Gauls*, who came originally from *Tbrace*, defeated the *Roman Army* under *Cato the Consul*; but were afterwards repulsed back into their own Country. About this Period the *Romans* were engaged in few Wars.

Q. What are the most memorable Incidents relating to the *Jugurthine War*?

A. *Masnissa*, King of *Numidia*, having three legitimate Sons, *Micipsa*, *Gulussa*, and *Manastabal*, had ordered by his last Will (as was before observed) that his Dominions should be divided among them by *Scripto*, which he did accordingly with the greatest Justice. *Micipsa*, after the Death of his two Brothers, got the sole Possession of the Kingdom of *Numidia*, and had two Sons called *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*. *Manastabal* had also left a Son called *Jugurtha*, whom a Concubine had brought him. This young Prince possessed several eminent Qualities, which rendered him the Darling of the *Numidians*. He, tho' finely shaped, and very handsome, and Master of the most delicate Wit and solid Judgment, did not devote himself, as young Men commonly do, to a Life of Luxury and Pleasure. He used to exercise himself with young Noblemen of his own Age, in running, riding, hurling the Javelin; and, tho' he surpassed all his Fellow Sportsmen, there was not one of them but loved him. To finish his Character, he excelled in all Things, and spoke very little of himself. So conspicuous an Assemblage of fine Talents and Perfections, began to excite the Jealousy of *Micipsa*, and therefore he resolved to ruin him. For this Purpose he gave *Jugurtha* the Command of the Forces which he sent to the Assistance of the *Romans*, who, at that Time, Ann. Rom. 621. were besieging *Numantia*, under the Conduct of *Scipio*. Knowing that *Jugurtha* was animated with the most heroic Bravery, he flattered himself, that he probably would rush upon Danger, and lose his Life. However, he was mistaken. This young Prince joined to an undaunted Courage the utmost Calmness of Mind, and behaved himself so well in

in this Campaign, that he won the Esteem and Friendship of the whole Army ; insomuch that *Scipio*, after the taking of *Numantia*, sent him back to his Uncle with Letters filled with the highest Encomiums.

Q What did *Micipsa* upon this ?

A. Pleased with the great Character that was given of his Nephew, he changed his Behaviour towards him, and resolved, if possible, to win his Affection by Kindness. Accordingly he adopted him ; and, by his last Will, made him Joint-heir with his two Sons. However, *Micipsa* was no sooner expired, but *Jugurtha* shewed plainly, that Politicians do not rank Gratitude in the Number of their Virtues. Ambition and Interest prompt him to turn against the Family of *Micipsa*, a Power with which he had been invested upon no other Account but to protect it. *Numidia* was now divided into three Principalities ; and there were seen in the same Kingdom, and as it were on the same Throne, three Sovereigns, independent one on the other, tho' all three were dependent on, and under the Protection of the *Romans*. *Jugurtha*, aspiring to be sole Monarch of *Numidia*, resolved to destroy the two young Princes : For this Purpose, laying Snares for *Hiempsal*, he got him murdered, and this was the first Victim he sacrificed to his Ambition. *Adberbul*, terrified at the wicked Deed, fled with the utmost Precipitation into his own Province ; and, tho' not of a warlike Disposition, he nevertheless took up Arms, as well to secure himself against the Enterprizes of the Murderer, as to revenge his Brother's Death. *Jugurtha* also raises Forces, and the whole Nation joins in this Civil War. The greatest Part of the *Numidian* Noblemen declare for *Adberbal* ; but the best Soldiers and chief Officers are for *Jugurtha*. A Battle is soon fought ; *Adberbal* is defeated, and the major Part of his Forces, after his Overthrow, go over to the Enemy ; and the Gates of the strongest Fortresses are opened to the Victors. *Adberbal*, to save his Life, is forced to disguise himself ; and, after wandering for some time, in a forlorn Condition, in his own Dominions, he at last gets to *Rome*, and there implores the Protection of the Senate.

Q. What was the Consequence of this ?

A. *Jugurtha* was not very uneasy at it, knowing that Money was all-powerful in *Rome*; and therefore he sent Ambassadors thither, with Orders for *Ann. Rom. 641.* them to bribe the principal Senators, by which means they were soon brought off from *Adberbal*. These appointed ten Commissioners to go into *Africa*, to take cognizance of this Affair; and, in case they judged proper, to divide anew *Micipsa's* Kingdom between *Jugurtha* and *Adberbal*. These Commissioners were headed by *Opimius*, who had gained great Esteem in the Senate and with the Nobility of *Rome*, ever since the Death of *Caius Gracchus*, and the Ruin of his Adherents. *Opimius*, and his Colleagues were corrupted by *Jugurtha*; and granted his Demand, which was, to have the Part of *Numidia* that extends as far as *Mauritania*, the Natives whereof were the most warlike; and as for *Adberbal*, he contented himself with lower *Numidia*, it containing the finest, the most trading and wealthy Cities. However, after the Departure of these Ambassadors, *Jugurtha*, without shewing the least Regard to the Regulations that had been made, exercised Cruelties of every Kind in his Brother's Dominions; forced his Camp, and besieged him in *Cirtba*, the Capital of his Dominions, whence *Adberbal* sent Express upon Express to *Rome*, to implore Succour: But that unhappy Prince, after many fruitless Negotiations, being reduced to the utmost Extremities, at last desired no other Conditions than that his Life might be spared. *Jugurtha* made the largest Promises, upon which the Gates were opened; but he no sooner saw himself Master of the City, than he cut to Pieces the *Numidian* Garrison, and caused *Adberbal* to die in the most cruel Torments.

Q. How did the People of *Rome* receive the News of this Action ?

A. It made a different Impression upon their Minds. The most equitable Senators were of Opinion, that it would not be proper to allow *Jugurtha* Time to establish himself on the Throne, since he would afterwards be formidable even to the *Romans*. But others, who had been bribed by *Jugurtha*, said, that it would be better to

to continue, with that Prince, the Alliance they had hitherto maintained with the *Numidians*, than to embark in a fresh War, which must necessarily be attended with fatal Consequences ; *Jugurtha* being a second *Hannibal*, and the *Romans* at War with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. On this Occasion *C. Memmius*, who had been newly elected Tribune of the People, whose greatest Desire was to curb the Authority of the Nobility, made the following Speech : “ Integrity is quite banished from the Senate, “ and Justice is seen no more in it. Money is the ‘Tyrant of *Rome*, and the People have but too strongly experienced, that ’tis the only Deity of the Nobles. These traffic publicly their Faith and Honour. The Glory and Interest of the State are now become venal. The Majesty of the Empire has been betrayed ; the Republic has been sold, both in the Army and in *Rome* itself. *Opimius*, the Murderer of *Caius*, and of 3000 Citizens with him ; that Tyrant of his Country, whose Hands are still red with the Blood of the People and their Tribunes, has filled them with the Gold and Silver of the treacherous *Jugurtha*. Perhaps *Calpurnius* and *Scaurus* are not more innocent. We are told that the *Numidians* have given themselves up to the Commonwealth ; that they have surrendered their Strong-holds, their Forces, and Elephants. But clear up the Truth of this. Let *Jugurtha* be sent for to *Rome*. If he has really submitted himself to you, he will obey your Orders ; but in case he refuses to pay Obedience to them, you then will judge that what is called a Treaty, is but a mere Collusion between that Crafty Prince and your Generals ; a Treaty, that will have produced, with respect to him, only an Impunity for his Crimes ; dishonourable Wealth for those who had been commissioned to execute the Orders of the Senate ; and eternal Infamy with regard to the Commonwealth.” A little after this, *Opimius* was banished by a solemn Decree, and the Senators immediately ordered one of the Consuls to cross into *Africa*, at the Head of a powerful Army.

Q. What did *Jugurtha* when he was informed of this ?

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A. He

A. He sent other Ambassadors to *Rome*, with Presents; however the only Answer returned them was, that the *Romans* would not receive *Jugurtha* into their Alliance, unless he submitted himself and his Kingdom to the

Discretion of the Senate; upon which

Ann. Rom. 643. *Calpurnius* was commanded to set out with the Army. However, this General, and *M. Scaurus* one of his Lieutenants, having been corrupted by Money, made an ignominious Peace, and returned to *Rome*. But now *Memmius*

Ann. Rom. 644. the Tribune, again exclaimed against the Artifices of *Jugurtha*, and the Baseness of those who suffered themselves to be Slaves to that Prince's Gold. To content the People, who now began to murmur, the Senate sent *L. Caius* the Praetor, into *Africa*, to command *Jugurtha* to appear in *Rome*, under the Guarantee of the *Romans*, in order to answer for himself. He accordingly came thither, attended by few Persons; but by the Profusion of his Bribes, he eluded the Condemnation which his Artifices and Cruelty so justly merited.

Q. What happened to *Jugurtha* after this?

A. There was at this Time in *Rome* a young Prince, Son to *Gulussa*, *Massiva* by Name, who had fled secretly for Protection to the *Romans*, to intreat them to set him on his Grandfather's Throne. *Jugurtha*, tho' not aware of this new Obstacle, nevertheless removed it by a fresh Act of Treachery, by engaging *Bomilcar*, a Person in whom he placed the highest Confidence, to dispatch *Massiva*, whatever might be the Consequence. Accordingly that young Prince was murdered, in open Day, in the Middle of *Rome*; and the Assassin being immediately seized, confessed that he had been hired by *Bomilcar*. The latter being impeached, *Jugurtha* favoured his Plight; whence it was believed, that the Murder had been perpetrated at the Instigation of this Prince. The Senate now looking upon him with Horror, drove him ignominiously from *Rome*; when *Jugurtha* turning his Eyes often back to it, cried, "O venal City! thou wouldst soon be enslaved, were there a Merchant wealthy enough to purchase Thee."

Q. Did

Q. Did not the War break out again?

A. Posthumius Albinus, the Consul, having been appointed to go to *Africa*, arrived in it almost as soon as *Jugurtha*. But being obliged to return to *Rome* some time after, to preside at the *Comitia*, he left the Command of the Army to *Aulus Posthumius*, his Brother. *Jugurtha* having attacked the latter in the Night, defeated him, forced the *Romans* to pass under the Yoke, and obliged them to leave *Numidia* in ten Days.

Some time after, *Metellus*, the Consul *Ann. Rom. 645.* who, to all the Virtues which constitute the great Captain, joined a perfect Disregard of Wealth, was appointed to march against *Jugurtha*. This Prince endeavoured, but in vain, to win the Consul by his usual Artifices; but found *Metellus* as inaccessible in this, as in all other respects. He therefore was now forced to venture his Life, and exert his utmost Bravery, to compensate for that Expedient which now began to fail him. Accordingly he signalized himself in a surprising Manner, and exhibited, in this Campaign, all that could be expected from the Courage, the Abilities, and Attention of an illustrious General, to whom Despair administers fresh Strength, and suggests new Lights; but still he was unsuccessful, because he was opposed by a Consul who did not suffer the most inconsiderable Error to escape him, nor ever let slip any Opportunity of taking Advantage of his Enemy. A Battle was fought, in which the *Romans* got the Advantage: but the Consul being determined to order Matters differently from what he had done hitherto, after having pitched his Camp advantageously, he laid waste the Country, seized on several Strong-holds, and, among others, of *Vacca*, and afterwards invested *Zama*, the Capital of *Numidia*. *Metellus* retired now to a Province dependent upon the *Romans*, where he resolved to put his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters. Here Advice was brought, that the Senate had appointed him Pro-consul of *Africa*. The following Year *Metellus*, being desirous to defeat all *Jugurtha's* Measures, by the same Artifices as that Prince had employed against the *Romans*, bribed *Bomilcar*, who promised to deliver up his Master into *Metellus's* Hands. From this instant

Jugurtha

Jugurtha did not enjoy a moment's Peace. He did not believe himself safe any where ; but all Things, the Day as well as Night, the Citizen as well as Foreigner, were suspected by him ; and the blackest Terrors sat for ever brooding over his Mind. He never got a Wink of Sleep, except by Stealth ; and often changed his Bed, after a low *Plebeian* Manner. Starting sometimes from his Slumbers, he would snatch his Sword, and break into the most doleful Cries ; so strongly was he haunted by Fear, and so strangely did he act the Madman. *Bomilcar* had prompted him to solicit for a Treaty with the *Romans* ; and *Jugurtha* offered to submit to whatever Conditions *Metellus* should think fit to prescribe. *Metellus* thereupon ordered him to pay down a very large Sum of Money to defray the Expences of the War ; to deliver up all his Elephants, 4000 Horses, Arms for the like Number of Men, and all the Deserters. *Jugurtha* complied with these several Demands, but could not send him all the Deserters, many of them having fled into *Mauritania*.

Q. What did *Metellus* after this ?

A. He commanded *Jugurtha* to come to *Tisidium*, there to receive, in Person, the Orders which should be given him. But now that Prince began to hesitate, and 'twas several Days before he could come to a Resolution. The Remembrance of his past Crimes ; the Fear he was under, that the Murder of *Adberbal* and *Hiempal* would be revenged ; the Charms of sovereign Power, and the Dread of falling from the Throne to Slavery ; these Considerations made him resolve, once more, to try the Fate of Arms ; and tho' his Power and Strength were very much diminished, he yet imagined he should still be able to prolong the War, or at least to suspend, for some Time, his Destruction. He therefore broke off the Negotiation, levied fresh Forces, fortified some small Towns he still possessed in the Extremities of his Kingdom, and endeavoured to recover those which the *Romans* had seized. *Jugurtha* was also prompted from another Motive to take up Arms. He was informed, that *C. Marius*, *Metellus*'s Lieutenant, was disgusted at this General ; that he aspired to the Consulship, and had

had got Leave to quit the Army, in order to go to *Rome*, to sue for that Office. This *Marius*, who was of an obscure Birth, and fostered the strongest Hatred to the Senate and Nobles, was insatiably ambitious. He was no sooner appointed *Metellus's* Lieutenant, but he resolved to supplant him; and he exerted himself to the utmost to raise his Reputation. Accordingly he engaged in all Enterprizes; would head all Parties; and, whether in Councils, at Sieges, or in Battles, no Man argued with more Wisdom, or displayed greater Courage. People at the same Time admired his prodigious Temperance and Frugality. Cloathed in the plainest Habit, he, when a General, would eat of the same Bread with a common Soldier; lie on the Ground, or on a Straw bed; and was always seen the foremost, whether at the opening of a Trench, or fortifying the Camp. But these good Qualities were quite obscured by his ungenerous Usage of *Metellus*, and there was something very dark and horrid in *Marius's* Procedure; a Circumstance that displays Ambition in its native and genuine Colours, and shews that it extinguishes, in those who abandon themselves to it, all Sensations of Honour and Integrity.

Q. What did *Jugurtha* during this Interval?

A. Having discovered *Bomilcar's* Conspiracy, he beheaded him, and put to Death all his Accomplices; after which *Metellus* marched out against *Jugurtha*, defeated him, and obliged him to fly to the City of *Tulla*, in which were his Children and Part of his Treasures. But *Metellus* investing *Tulla*, *Jugurtha* left it, carrying off his Children and his Treasures, and retired to the Court of *Bocchus*, his Father-in-law, King of *Mauritania*. The Consul then won *Tulla*; and would have completely ended the War, had he not been recalled, and *Marius* appointed to succeed him.

Q. How did *Marius* behave in *Rome*?

A. Upon Pretence of setting before the People the complete State of the War of *Numidia*, he was not ashamed, in order to make his own Fortune, to lessen the great Actions performed by his General. He ascribed to himself all the Honour of the Success which the Ro-

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mans Arms had met with ; and (to believe him) *Metellus*,
 tho' so great a Commander, owed all his Victories to
 his (*Marius's*) Counsel and Bravery. These Assertions
 were blended with the most malicious Invectives, such as,
 " That *Metellus* prolonged the War, either that he might
 " continue longer in the Command, or that it was
 " owing to his natural Supineness. That with regard
 " to himself, who was perfectly well acquainted with
 " *Numidia*, and more active and vigorous than *Metellus*,
 " he engaged, in a single Campaign, to take *Jugurtha*,
 " dead or alive ; or else force him to leave *Numidia*,
 " and every Part of *Africa*." *Marius* was strongly op-
 posed by the *Patricians*; but the People were so much
 prejudiced in his Favour, that he at last was elected Con-
 sul, in order that he might enjoy the supreme Command
 in *Africa*. *Marius*, being now intoxicated with his Ex-
 altation, displayed the Hatred he bore the Nobles in
 the following Speech, which would become any Person
 but him : " They (says he) despise me for my Birth,
 " and I contemn them for their Pride and Effeminacy.
 " They reproach me because of my Poverty, which
 " our Ancestors had in such high Veneration ; and I
 " reproach them, much more justly, with their Ava-
 " rice, to which they daily sacrifice their Faith and
 " their Honour, the Glory and Welfare of the Com-
 " monwealth. They envy me the Dignity to which I
 " am raised by the Suffrages of the People and of all
 " virtuous Men. Why do they also not envy me my
 " military Toils ; the Dangers to which I have so often
 " been exposed, and the Wounds I have received in
 " Battle ? I did not rise to the supreme Command till
 " after having gone thro' a long Course of Obedience ;
 " but those Men would fain command without having
 " ever obeyed, or without boasting any Merit but that
 " of their Birth. If these commit any Errors, or suffer
 " themselves to be over-reached by the Enemy, they,
 " by their Credit, the Intrigues of their Relations, and
 " the great Number of their Creatures, are easily justi-
 " fied. The Faults they committed are disguised, or im-
 " puted to the Subaltern Officers. Truth never pierces
 " thro' the Clouds which are raised by the Authority
 " of

" of the Great, and the Flattery of their Slaves. But
 " with regard to me, I am wanting in all these Assist-
 " ances: I have not one Kinsman in a high Station;
 " I cannot exhibit the Images, the Consulates and Tri-
 " umphs of Ancestors. My only Support is in myself;
 " and I have no Dependence but on my Valour. I
 " will even own that I am no Orator; and am igno-
 " rant of that dangerous Art, which, under an eloquent
 " Flow of Words, is able to cover the most infamous
 " Actions. Brought up from my Infancy in Camps, and
 " nurtured in military Discipline, I have learned to make
 " a proper Use of my Sword. This is my sole Study,
 " and the Instruction and Example I shall set my Sol-
 " diers. 'Tis by the Practice of such Lessons that we
 " hope soon to end the *Numidian War*. By taking the
 " Command of the Army from the Nobles, you have
 " removed the chief Obstacle to your being victorious.
 " 'Twas owing wholly to their Ignorance in the Arts
 " of War, to their Presumption and scandalous Avarice,
 " that this War has continued so long."

Q. What followed upon this?

A. The People, overjoyed at their having a Consul of
 their own Rank, were very eager in enlisting themselves.
 All were for following *Marius's Standard*: They fancied
 themselves sure of the Victory under so great a General;
 and the newly recruited Soldiers flattered themselves
 with the Hopes of returning soon to their native Coun-
 try laden with Spoils. *Marius* set out
 for *Africa*; when *Metellus*, tho' endued *Ann. Rom. 647.*
 with so great a Strength of Mind on
 other Occasions, was quite dejected at this unforeseen
 Blow, which even forced Tears from his Eyes, and such
 Expressions as were altogether unworthy so great a Man.
 Being therefore unable to bear the Sight of *Marius*, he re-
 signed to him the Command of the Army, by the Hands
 of *Rutilius*, one of his Lieutenants, and set out for *Rome*.
 When he was got to that City, tho' so much Art had
 been used to blacken his Reputation, yet so great were
 his Merit and Services, that the People could not for-
 bear receiving him with all the Honours he deserved;

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insomuch that a Triumph was decreed, and the Name of *Numidicus* bestowed upon him.

Q. As *Sylla* will soon make a very conspicuous Figure, I should be glad to have some previous Account of him?

A. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, a *Patrician*, and sprung from one of the most illustrious Families in *Rome*, was handsome; had an engaging Aspect, a noble Air, a graceful Carriage; and possessed a Frankness, that seemed to speak an undisguised Soul. Insinuating, persuasive, and Eloquent from Nature, he was fond of Pleasure, and much more so of Glory. He never neglected Business; but could devote himself to or refrain from Pleasures with the same Ease. He endeavoured to please all Men; was ever modest in his Expressions, when he spoke of himself; but very lavish of his Encomiums on others, and still more of his Money. He lent willingly to all who addressed him for that Purpose, and anticipated those who wanted a Loan, and did not dare to ask him. *Sylla* never claimed any Debt, insomuch that one would have imagined he intended to purchase the whole Army. Familiar especially with the common Soldiers, he imitated their vulgar Carriage; would drink, be merry with them, and bear with their coarsest Jokes: But, on other Occasions, he was serious, active, and diligent. He was a *Proteus*, who could easily assume all these different Shapes; and both his Virtues and Vices were equally covered by a Veil of the deepest Hypocrisy, which concealed his Thoughts, even in his most secret Pleasures, from those who partook in them.

Q. What Actions were performed by *Marius* in *Africa*?

A. A little after his Arrival there, he was joined by *Sylla*, who was his *Quæstor*, which Officers, tho' the Treasurers-General of the Republic, had a Command in the Army. *Jugurtha* being now with *Bocchus*, his Father-in-law, spoke thus to him: "The *Romans* are the most unjust People upon Earth; are insatiably covetous, and Enemies to all Mankind. They have no more Cause to wage War against me, than against you. Ambition only made them draw the Sword,

" and

" and they have sworn eternal Enmity to the whole
 " World. They now persecute me: they before had
 " ruined *Carthage*, and dethroned *Perseus*; and thus,
 " whomsoever Fortune shall favour with her Smiles, will
 " not fail of exciting their execrable Avarice; they will
 " immediately consider such a Man as their Enemy, and
 " declare War against him." *Jugurtha* soon prevailed
 with *Bocchus* to enter into a League with him; and ac-
 cordingly received, on different Occasions, very consider-
 able Succours from that King. But this Confederacy
 having been cemented by no other Tie but Interest, was
 never strong. *Marius* possessed himself of *Capsa*, a large
 and very populous City; and afterwards took the For-
 tress which *Aulus Albinus* had invested to no Purpose.
 A Battle was soon fought. The two Kings, by a Coun-
 ter-march, surprise the *Romans*, attack them in the Night,
 kill great Numbers, and would have gained a complete
 Victory, had not the Darkness prevented their knowing
 all their Advantage, and making a proper Use of it.
 However, *Marius* soon had his Revenge; and almost
 before that the News was carried to *Rome* of his De-
 feat, Advice was brought that he had so completely
 overthrown the two Kings in two decisive Battles, that
 neither of them would be able to keep the Field. This
 last Defeat broke at once all the Bands of their Confe-
 deracy, and *Bocchus* resolved to sue for Peace. For this
 Purpose, he desired *Marius* to send him a trusty and able
 Person; who, thereupon, deputed *Sylla*. The latter be-
 ing arrived in *Mauritania*, *Bocchus*, who, like the rest of
 his Countrymen, did not pride himself in Sincerity, de-
 bated within his own Mind, whether it would not be his
 Interest to deliver up *Sylla* to *Jugurtha*. He was a long
 Time fluctuating with Uncertainty, and combated by a
 Contrariety of Sentiments; and the sudden Changes
 which displayed themselves in his Countenance, in his
 Air, and his whole Person, shewed evidently how strongly
 his Mind was agitated. But now *Bocchus* returning to
 his first Design, made his Terms with *Sylla*, and deliver-
 ed up *Jugurtha* into his Hands, whom he had treache-
 rously invited to a Conference, and sent him immediately
 to

to *Marius*. The Captivity of this Prince put an End to the Numidian War.

Q. How did *Sylla* act on this Occasion?

A. Like a young Man who is fired with a strong Thirst of Glory, the Sweets of which he has just begun to taste. Instead of ascribing to the General, under whom he fought, all the Honour of this Event, as his Duty required, he reserved the greatest Part of it to himself; and had a Ring made, which he always wore, wherein he was represented, receiving *Jugurtha* from the Hands of *Bocchus*; and this Ring he used ever after as his Signet. But *Marius* was so highly exasperated at this kind of Insult, that he could never forgive it; a Circumstance that gave Rise to the implacable Hatred between these two *Romans*, which afterwards burst out with so much Fury, and cost the Republic so much Blood.

Q. What was the End of *Jugurtha*?

A. Nothing could have arrived more seasonably than the News of his Defeat. Advice had been brought to *Rome*, that a numberless Multitude of *Barbarians*, were advancing Southward, out of the North, and menaced all *Italy*. The People of *Rome* resolved to oppose to them *Marius*, who was then in actual Enjoyment of that Favour and those Applauses which a recent Victory gives. He was nominated Consul a *Ann. Rom* 649. second Time, tho' in Opposition to the Laws, which did not allow a Man to be elected Consul in his Absence; and even required the Space of ten Years between two Consulships. To these distinguishing Favours were added the Government of *Gallia Narbonensis*; and a Triumph was decreed *Marius*, on which occasion he exhibited such a Sight to the *Romans*, as they could scarce believe they saw, when it passed before their Eyes; I mean *Jugurtha* in Chains, that so formidable Enemy, during whose Life they had not dared to flatter themselves with the Hopes of being able to put an End to this War; so well his Courage was blended with Stratagems and Artifices, and his Genius so fruitful in finding new Expedients even when his Affairs were most desperate. 'Tis related, that *Jugurtha* ran distracted as he was walking in the Triumph; that after

the

the Ceremony was ended, he was cast into Prison ; and that the Lictors were so eager to seize his Robe, that they rent it in several Pieces ; and tore away the Tips of his Ears, to get the rich Jewels with which they were adorned. In this Condition he was thrown stark naked, and in the utmost Terror, into a deep Dungeon, which was to be his Grave. Here *Jugurtha* lived six Days, struggling with Hunger. And the fruitless Desire of prolonging Life, served as a Punishment to a King who had no scruple to murder his nearest Relations and principal Courtiers, whenever it was of Advantage to his ambitious Views.

Q. Who were the Cimbri ?

A. A vagabond People of Cimbrica Cbersonesus, now called Denmark. These joining with the *Teutones*, a Nation of *Germans*, being upwards of 300,000, had marched out in order to seek new Habitations, and a softer and more temperate Climate. The *Barbarians* in question, followed by a numberless Multitude of old Men, Women, and Children, marched into *Gaul*, and there made dreadful Havock. They then sent a Deputation to the *Romans*, desiring that Lands might be given them to inhabit ; but having been refused, they resolved to settle themselves by Force of Arms in that Country, which they did, after having defeated *Carbo* the Consul. They afterwards passed the *Alps*, in order to fix themselves in *Gallia Transalpina*, and there defeated, in 645, *Julius Syllanus* the Consul. The Year following (646) they also overthrew *Aurelius Scaurus*. Whilst *Marius* was employed against *Jugurtha*, they gained a considerable Victory over *Cassius Longinus*, his Colleague, who was slain with upwards of 14,000 *Romans* ; *Lucio Piso*, Lieutenant of the latter, attempting to rally the flying Soldiers, was also defeated by the People above-mentioned, and forced to pass under the Yoke, to save the Lives of those who had escaped the Slaughter. In 648, *Cæpio*, the Consul, exasperated the *Gauls*, by the wild Havock he made in the Country of the *Tectosages*, a People of *Languedoc*. He entered *Toulouse*, the Capital of it, and carried off all the Riches (amounting to immense Sums) which People, out of Devotion, had given to the Temples, and

and particularly to that of *Apollo*. Some superstitious Historians relate, that those who had plundered the Temples, were afflicted with the Pestilence, which struck the Rest with so much Dread, that they threw the Spoils they had taken into a Lake; but *Cæpio* conveyed his

Part of them to *Marseilles*. A Year

Ann. Rom. 650. or two after *Jugurtha's* Defeat, *Mallius* or *Manlius*, the Consul, and *Cæpio*,

who had been continued in his Employment in Quality of Proconsul, received a fatal Overthrow on the Banks of the *Rhone*, losing upwards of 80,000 Men. *Manlius* lost his Life in the Battle; but *Cæpio* who had been so inconsiderate as to return to *Rome*, was put to Death, and his Body thrown into the Fields. These *Barbarians*, afterwards separating, the *Teutones* continued in *Gaul*, whence they resolved to pass into *Italy*; and the *Cimbri* marched towards *Germany*, in order to enter *Italy* that Way.

Q. Did not these Losses put an end to the Dissensions which had broke out on account of *Metellus* and *Marius*?

A. The *Romans* were now greatly intimidated. Envy disappeared; the two Parties which had divided *Rome* united, when *Marius* was unanimously

Ann. Rom. 651. chosen to head this War. He was raised a second, and successively a third time, to the Consulship; during which he levied considerable Armies, and fortified the narrow Straits and Passes to *Italy*. He returned to *Rome* to preside in the Election of new Consuls, when he declared, that as he had enjoyed the Consulate three times, he would even refuse that Employment, should it be offered him. But all those who knew how insatiably ambitious he was, laughed at this specious Modesty; and they considered as a Farce, the Part which he caused one *Saturnius*, his Creature, and a Tribune of the People, to play; he calling *Marius* publicly, a Traitor and a wicked Wretch, for refusing to serve his Country; and exhorting the People to force him to accept the Command of the Army. Tho' this Artifice was too glaring not to be seen thro', yet, as *Metellus* was too old to take upon him the Conduct of this

this War, *Marius* was appointed Consul a fourth Time; and *Catulus Luctatius*, an honest Man, tho' not so good a Soldier, was appointed his Colleague.

Q. What Actions were performed by the two Consuls?

A. After dividing the Legions, *Marius* marched towards the *Teutones*, and *Ann. Rom. 652.* fought them near *Aix*, in *Provence*.

We are told that the Battle lasted two Days; that *Theutoboccus* their King was taken Prisoner; and that 140,000 were slain in it, whereby the whole Nation was almost extirpated. With regard to the *Cimbri*, they had been so successful as to cross the *Alps*, and advance into *Gallia Cisalpina*. *Catulus* waited for them on the Banks of the *Athesis*, near *Verona*; but having only 20,000 Men to oppose against a numberless Multitude of Forces, his Soldiers were seized with a pannic Fear, so that several of them fled before they had seen the Enemy; and the *Roman* General, in order to save the Rest, was obliged to leave the Banks of the River, and encamp in some Defiles, whence it would be impossible to force him. *Marius*, at his Entrance into his fifth Consulship, came to *Catulus's* Assistance, with his victorious Army. The two Generals having joined their Forces, gave the *Cimbri* Battle in the Plains of *Verceil*. *Ann. Rom. 653.* The Slaughter was so great, that 120,000 were slain, besides 60,000 who were taken Prisoners. The Wives of the *Cimbri* made a wonderful Resistance from their Chariots; but finding the Battle desperate, they murdered all their Children, and afterwards themselves, in order not to survive their Loss. *Aquilius Nepos*, was then *Marius's* Colleague. The latter Consul was honoured with the Title of *Third Founder of Rome*, and had a Triumph decreed him, for having ended this War, which had continued twelve Years. *Aquilius Nepos* had also finished the second servile War in *Sicily*, which had lasted almost four Years.

Q. What were the next remarkable Transactions?

A. *Marius* now got himself elected Consul a sixth time, and procured *L. Valerius Flaccus* to be chosen his Colleague *Ann. Rom. 654.* in Prejudice to *Metellus*. *Marius*, not contented with having

ing excluded the latter from the Consulate, employed the most shameful Artifices to get him banished the City; and, for this Purpose, joined with two Senators called *Glaucia* and *Saturninus* both the professed Enemies of *Metellus*, and the most wicked Men in *Rome*. These three having now got the Government into their own Hands, (*Marius* being Consul, *Glaucia* Prætor, and *Saturninus* Tribune) resolve to ruin *Metellus*; and for this Purpose, *Saturninus*, in Concert with the other two, renewed the ancient Quarrels with regard to the Division of Lands; and preferred a Law, for distributing of such Lands as *Marius* had recovered in *Gallia Cisalpina*, among the poorest of the Citizens who lived in the Country, the greatest Part of whom had served under *Marius*, and were entirely devoted to him. This occasioned great Feuds and Tumults between those People and the Inhabitants of *Rome*. *Saturninus* had added, that the Senate (in case the People would agree to it) should be compelled to approve it in five Days; that every Senator should take a solemn Oath of this in the Temple of *Saturn*; and that such as refused it should be expelled the Senate, and fined twenty Talents. The most treacherous Artifices were employed by *Marius* to ruin *Metellus*, who having refused to consent to the Law above-mentioned, *Saturninus* the Tribune summons the People together, ascends the *Rostra*; and, after declaiming against *Metellus*, he assures his Auditors, that they were not to expect any Division of the Lands; and the Law would not be put in Execution, so long as *Metellus* should continue in *Rome*. On the Remonstrances of this seditious Tribune, the Assembly sentenced *Metellus* to Banishment, in case he did not, that very Day, take the Oath prescribed. The great Men in *Rome*, the whole Senate, and even the most virtuous Plebeians, would have opposed so unjust a *Plebiscitum*. Several, out of Esteem for *Metellus*, carried Arms under their long Robes. But that wise Senator, who had a real Affection for his Country, after thanking them tenderly for this Testimony of their Kindness to him, declared to them, that he would not suffer one Drop of Blood to be shed on his Account. After having determined to leave his Country, he said to

to his intimate Friends, to justify the Resolution he had taken, that either the Commonwealth would be restored to its former Tranquillity, and then he did not doubt of being recalled from Banishment; or else that, in case the Government should still continue in the Hands of Men like *Saturninus*, nothing could be greater Advantage to him than to live at a Distance from *Rome*. *Metellus* then withdrew into Banishment; but his Virtue and exalted Reputation made him meet with Fellow-Citizens whithersoever he came: He was not a Stranger in any Place; and having fixed upon the Island of *Rhodes* for his Residence, he there enjoyed, in a happy Repose, the natural Empire which Virtue bestows, without the Assistance of Dignities.

Q. What became of *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*?

A. *Marius*, as an Acknowledgment for the Services which the former had done him, suffered him to bear a tyrannical Sway in *Rome*: so that there now was not the least Freedom in Elections; but all Things were decided by Violence. *Saturninus* having afterwards caused *Mennius*, an illustrious *Patrician*, and *Glaucia's* Competitor for the Consulate to be murdered, all the most worthy Men drew their Swords; the People themselves joined the Senate; and the *Forum* was the Field of Battle, where the Blood of the Citizens was shed with Impunity. *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, finding themselves the weaker Party, seized upon the *Capitol*; upon which the Senate, by a public Decree, declared them Enemies to their Country, and commanded *Marius* to take Arms against them. He did this so slowly, and with such Reluctance, that the People at last cut the Pipes which conveyed Water into the *Capitol*, and thereby reduced the Mutineers to the greatest Extremities. The major Part were for setting Fire to the *Capitol*, rather than yield; but *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, relying on the Friendship which *Marius* had for them, surrendered themselves to him. Accordingly that Consul secured their Persons, but the Place where he confined them was rather an *Asylum*, than a Prison. However the exasperated Populace were themselves resolved to do Justice on those wicked Men. Accordingly one Party of them repuls'd the Guards,

and

and surrounded the House where they were confined ; whilst others climbed to the Roof, and *Ann. Rom. 654.* uncovering it, they with Stones and Tiles, killed *Saturninus, Glaucia, and their Accomplices.*

Q. Was not their Deaths as the Signal for recalling *Metellus* from Banishment ?

A. His Relations, his Friends, and the whole Senate, demanded this of the People in a public Assembly. All the Voices were favourable to him, that of *Furius*, one of the Tribunes of the People, and the Son of a Freedman, excepted. But the next Year, *C. Canuleius* being elected Tribune, impeached the Colleague *Furius*, and drew him in such odious Colours, that the People tore him to Pieces, without suffering him to make his Defence. Thus the Tribuneship, that sacred Office which had been instituted for the Preservation and Defence of the Citizens, was violated in the Person of a Tribune, for his attempting to stretch his Authority beyond its just Limits. There being now no farther Obstacle to *Metellus's* Return, he came back to *Rome*. All the City went out to meet him, and his Return was a real Triumph. The whole Day was not sufficient for him to receive the Compliments of the Senate, and the Applauses of the People ; every one imagining, that with him returned Justice, Peace, and Liberty. But notwithstanding these intestine Broils, Learning flourished more than ever ; and Poetry was arrived almost at its highest Pitch ; for not long before this lived *Lucretius*, a fine Poet, and in many respects not inferior to *Virgil*.

Q. What did *Marius* when he saw *Metellus* recalled ?

A. Being so jealous of his own Glory, and unable to bear his Return, he left *Rome*, and sailed for *Asia*, upon Pretence of offering certain (Sacrifices for which he had made a Vow) to the Mother of the Gods, during the War of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. Besides the Presence of *Metellus* which was so hateful to him, a secret Motive had prompted him to go into *Asia*, there to light up a War ; and especially to engage the *Romans* to take up Arms against *Mitridates*, King of *Pontus*, in *Asia Minor*, and the most powerful Prince in the East, who was

was suspected to be forming Alliances and making Preparations against the *Romans*. *Marius* flattered himself with the Hopes of obtaining the supreme Command in case such a War should break out, and thereby of enriching his Family with the Spoils of the East. In this View he went to that Prince's Court, in order to penetrate into his Designs. In the course of their Conversation he said thus to him: " *Mithridates*, thou either must " render thyself more powerful than the *Romans*, or " submit to them." The King of *Pontus*, who was the haughtiest Prince of the Age, and had been accustomed to the most servile Flattery, seemed surprised at the Discourse of this bold Republican. However, he concealed his Resentment, and dismissed *Marius* after having loaded him with Presents. This *Roman* being returned to *Rome*, found but very few Friends, and less Esteem in that City. His haughty and imperious Carriage did no ways suit a free State, where all the Citizens imagined themselves to be upon a level; and in which the greatest Men could raise up Creatures to themselves by no other Methods than Kindness and Liberality. But *Marius* met with the Fate of the greatest Commanders, who spend a long Course of Years in Peace. His very Victories were forgot; and he was considered, says *Plutarch*, no otherwise than as old Arms covered with Rust, which are thrown aside as useless. Besides, there arose other Captains less advanced in Age than *Marius*, and who had ingratiated themselves with the Public; and among those, in the Party of the Nobles, who were most distinguished, *Sylla* above-mentioned was chiefly conspicuous.

Q. Did not the Hatred of *Marius* against *Sylla* still continue?

A. Yes. The latter, whilst the *Romans* were engaged with the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, had prevailed with the *Marsi*, one of the most powerful Nations of *Italy*, and who then inhabited a Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to declare in favour of the *Romans*. We have already seen how great a Share *Sylla* had, in ending the *Numidian* War; and no Commander, after *Marius*, contributed so much to the Overthrow of the *Cimbri*, and he

even had taken one of those *Barbarian Kings* Prisoner. These Successes of *Sylla* inflaming *Marius* still more, he, by his ill Treatment, obliged that *Roman* to retire. But *Catulus*, who was fully sensible of *Sylla's* Valour and Capacity, offered him the same Command in his Army, as he had enjoyed in that of *Marius*. *Sylla*, being very brave and active, was of prodigious Service to *Catulus*, who left the Direction of all Things to him. Whilst *Marius's* Troops were in great Want of Provisions, *Catulus's* Camp was so largely supplied, that his Soldiers gave liberally to those of his Colleague. *Marius* looking upon this Generosity as an indirect Manner of seducing his Soldiers, conceived a strong Animosity against *Sylla* on that Account. It had begun to disclose itself, on Occasion of some Figures of Victory, and certain golden Images, representing the Manner in which *Bocchus* delivered up *Jugurtha* into *Sylla's* Hands. *Marius* was resolved to remove those Monuments, and *Sylla* opposed this with invincible Resolution. They were going to take up Arms; all *Rome* was divided; and so inconsiderable a Circumstance, fomented on each Side by two haughty Men who hated one another, revived that Antipathy between the Nobility and People, which was almost as ancient as the Commonwealth. Cabals are formed; Factions arise; and every one endeavours to get Friends and Creatures. In fine, the City was in that Fermentation, which is the usual Fore-runner of civil Wars; when *Drusus's* Death gave Occasion to the Social War (or that of the Allies) which suspended these domestic Divisions.

Q. What Attempts were made about this Time by *Drusus* the Tribune?

A. The Senators were now greatly dissatisfied, because of the judiciary Power, which by *Gracchus's* Laws, was given to the *Equites*. The Commonwealth was by this Means bought and sold; the *Publicans*, who farmed the public Revenues, being, as they were *Equites*, both Judge and Party. For this Reason *Drusus* endeavoured to restore the Senators to their ancient Privileges and Authority, and yet not disgust the Knights; and therefore, as the Senate consisted now but of a small Number,

ber, he proposed two Laws, *viz.* that 300 *Equites* should be added to them, and that the judiciary Powers should be given equally to all who should then be of that Body. But both the Senators and Knights equally opposed the passing of these Laws. The Senators appeared offended at a Tribune's (*Drusus's*) attempting to introduce into so august an Assembly as that of the Senate, 300 Knights, who would there always have the Majority on their side; and such of the *Equites* as had reason to believe they should not be raised to the Dignity of Senator, would not consent to have their Body deprived of a judiciary Power which gave them such great Authority in *Rome*: Hence, both these Orders, tho' in opposite Interests, agreed to reject the Laws proposed by *Drusus*.

Q. Did not *Drusus* also propose the Revival of the *Agrarian Laws*?

A. He did; and this exasperated all who were possessed of conquered Lands; for the great Men of *Rome*, accustomed to that Empire which they exercised over the Nations subject to the Republic, could not pardon *Drusus*, for attempting to raise to the Condition of Fellow Citizens, Nations whom they considered as their Subjects. The Commonwealth of *Rome* had different Forms of Government, according to the different Nations, who were subject to them. Such *Roman* Citizens, whether living in *Rome* or in the Country, as were enrolled in the Tribes, used to give in, to the Censors, their own Names, those of their Children, their Slaves, and the value of their Estates, when the Tribute they were to pay was settled. 'Twas of these Citizens, only, that those invincible Legions were composed, which made *Rome* the Mistress of the World. They elected their own Captains and Magistrates; they decreed Peace or War; and this Right of voting gave them a Share in the Government.

Q. What was the State of the *Latines*, or People of *Latium*?

A. These had either submitted to the Republic, or been subdued by Force of Arms. They paid the Tributes which were laid upon them, and furnished, in Times of War, their Quota of Horse and Foot. However,

tho' they formed, in some Measure, Part of the Commonwealth, and contributed great Sums towards the Expences of it, they yet were not allowed to share in the Offices of State, nor even to give their Votes, except in dangerous Times, such as the second Punic War. Now these People, as may have been observed, had long solicited to be admitted Citizens of *Rome*. They represented, that they paid considerable Tributes; that in Times of War their Country alone furnished twice as many Troops as *Rome* and its whole Territory; that the Republic was indebted, partly, to their Valour, for that exalted Pitch of Power to which it had been raised; and that it was but just for them to share in the Honours of the State, since they had extended its Empire by their Arms. However, the Senate and great Men of *Rome* opposed their Demand, the chief Motive of which was, their Fear that the *Plebeians* would grow two powerful by such an Association. But tho' *Caius Gracchus* had lost his Life by endeavouring this, yet *Drusus* flattered himself with the Hopes of succeeding by employing another Method, and by offering himself as Mediator between these different Parties, which was a laudable Design. However, this Attempt, and the above-mentioned, relating to the Senators and *Equites*, occasioned perpetual Feuds. And as Power had now a greater Influence in *Rome* than Justice, a Multitude of *Latines* were come to the City to support *Drusus*, their Protector. Still, he could not escape the Fury of his Enemies; for the Multitude rushing in upon him as he was speaking from the Tribunal which he had erected in his House, he was stabbed in the Side; the Assassin leaving the Knife in the Wound, of which *Drusus* died. He cried, as he was breathing his last, "The Commonwealth will never find a Person more true to its Interest than I." The Murderer escaped; but *Quintius Valerius*, a Tribune of the People, was suspected of having promoted this Assassination.

Q. I desire to have some Account of the Social War, or that of the Allies.

A. The *Latines*, exasperated to find themselves excluded their Pretensions, by the Death of *Drusus*, resolved

solved to procure that by Violence, which they could not obtain by gentle Methods ; upon which they joined in a close Confederacy, and privately sent Messages and Hostages to each other, viz. the *Lucanians*, *Apulians*, *Marfi*, *Peligni*, &c. and particularly the ancient Enemies of *Rome*, the *Samnites*, who made their Preparations with the utmost Diligence and Secrecy. Every Nation provided themselves with Arms and Horses, Soldiers were enlisted, and Leaders were appointed. *T. Afranius*, *P. Ventidius*, *M. Egnatius*, and *Vetius Cato*, all Generals of Reputation, were to command different Bodies. However, before committing any Act of Hostility, they sent Ambassadors to the Senate, to desire to be admitted as Citizens of *Rome*. Their Demand was rejected, upon which all the Confederates took up Arms. On a sudden there was seen, in the Midst of *Italy*, an Army of 100,000 Men ; and, a Circumstance that made these Troops formidable, was, their being headed by very able Commanders, who had been brought up in the *Roman Armies*.

Q. What did the Senate do in the mean Time ?

A. They also made Preparations with the utmost Diligence, and raised a greater Number of Legions than usual. *Sextus Julius Cæsar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*, both Consuls that Year, *Ann. Rom. 663.* marched into the Field, each having the Command of an Army. Their Lieutenants were *C. Marius*, *Cn. Pompeius*, *Cornelius Sylla*, and *Licinius Crassus*, who were looked upon as the greatest Captains of the Republic, and most of whom had commanded Armies, either as Consuls or Generals. The Commonwealth had never so many different Armies, at the same time, in *Italy*. For Fear of a Surprise, a strong Guard was posted at all the Gates of *Rome*, during a War, in which the Soldiers of the different Parties wore the same Dress, spoke the same Language, and were acquainted one with the other ; so that it was difficult to distinguish the Citizen from the Enemy. The War was very dangerous and destructive ; and *Rutilius*, in a short time, lost his Life, by falling into an Ambuscade laid by the *Marfi* ; and the *Romans* sustained such terrible Losses, that they

were reduced to the Necessity of enlisting many who had been Slaves. The Bodies of the Consuls, and many others, being carried into the City, the People were so greatly discouraged, that the Senate, by a Decree, ordered that henceforward the Bodies of the Slain should be buried in the Place where they fell ; which prudent Example was also followed by the Enemy. After the Death of *Rutilius*, *Marius* his Lieutenant, and *Cæpio*, who acted in Conjunction with him, were appointed to command his Army. *Cæpio* was killed, not long after, in an Ambuscade, whereby *Marius* had his Desire, which was to command his Army single ; and both he and *Sylla* did excellent Service that Year.

Q. What happened the following Year ?

A. Pompeius Strabo, Father to *Pompey* the Great, and *Portius Cato* were elected Consuls. *Cato* did very good Services this Campaign, which swelled his Vanity so far, that he boasted himself equal to *Marius*, for which he was killed by the Son of that General, in the Heat of a Battle fought against the *Marci*. The *Picentes* and *Asculani* were overthrown by *Pompey* his Colleague, who, after having long besieged *Asculum*, vanquished the Enemy in a Sally made by them. He also slew 18,000 of the *Marci*, took 3000 Prisoners, and at last possessing himself of *Asculum*, he caused all the Officers and Persons of the greatest Distinction in the City to be first scourged, and afterwards beheaded. Many great Actions were also performed by *Sylla*, he vanquished the *Samnites*, and stormed two of their Camps ; which Success elevated

him so far, that he immediately stood *Ann. Rom. 665.* for the Consulate, and obtained it. But

now the Senate perceiving that all the Victories which the Commonwealth gained were fatal to it ; and that in destroying their Allies, they lost so many Soldiers, which before composed their Armies ; this sage Assembly began to soften by insensible Degrees. However they at first admitted those only to the Freedom of the City, who were Neighbours to *Rome* ; who had not first taken up Arms ; or who had first offered to lay them down. This Conduct cooled the Ardor of the Enemy ; the Allies being now diffident of one another,

hasted

hasted to make their several Treaties apart. At last, all the Confederates obtained successively the Freedom of *Rome*, which nevertheless proved of no Advantage to them, by the artful Form in which the Treaty was drawn up.

Q. Did not other Wars break out soon after the healing of these Divisions?

A. The Senate were determined to carry their Arms into the East, when the Jealousy of the great Men gave rise to the civil War. *Marius* being 70 Years of Age, and consequently less active than formerly, was fallen from his exalted Reputation; whereas *Sylla* had greatly increased his Fame during the Course of the Social War, in which he had displayed the utmost Vigour and Abilities. The latter, after being nominated Consul, was appointed Governor of *Aisa Minor*, with Order to proclaim War against *Mitridates*, a very learned Prince, and a great Commander, but unjust, cruel, sanguinary, like most Conquerors; and whose Empire was composed chiefly of the Territories of which he had dispossessed his Neighbours. His Power was as great as his ambitious Designs, his Armies consisting of 250,000 Foot, 50,000 Horse, and a numberless Multitude of armed Chariots, besides above 400 Ships of War. His Forces were commanded by very able Generals, and whenever he did not undertake any Campaign in Person, he always directed the several Operations of it. He had seized upon *Cappadocia* and *Bitynia*, the Kings of which were Allies to the People of *Rome*, *Tbrace*, *Macedon*, *Greece*, *Athen's*, and most of the Islands called *Cyclades*, had met with the same Fate. But the most provoking Circumstance was, his causing melted Gold to be poured down the Throat of *Aquilius*, whom he had taken; upbraiding at the same Time, the *Romans*, with Avarice and Corruption. The Senate having sent *Mitridates* Orders to withdraw his Troops out of all those Provinces, as being under the Protection of the *Romans*; this Prince, to shew that he did not value their Power or Resentment, caused to be murdered, at a Day fixt for that Purpose, 150,000 *Romans*, the greatest Part Merchants, who, during the Peace, had settled in the East, and in the chief Cities of

Greece. He even threatened to march his army to *Rome*, at which Time *Sylla* was appointed to carry on this War.

Q. How did *Marius* take this?

A. He thought himself greatly injured, and therefore resolved to supplant, if possible, *Sylla*. For this Purpose he won over to his Interest *P. Sulpitius*, who was eloquent, enterprizing, and powerful, and one of the Tribunes of the People. These two Men, being united by their common Hatred of *Sylla*, and the Body of the Nobility agreed, before they declared themselves, to increase their Faction. They therefore attempted to suppress the eight last Tribes of the Commonwealth, of which the Allies (or People of *Italy*) were composed, and to distribute them among the thirty-five ancient Tribes; hoping by this Means to get the Majority in all public Deliberations. But the ancient Citizens opposing this, a Tumult ensued, both Parties fought, and a great Number of Citizens were killed on each Side. The Consuls now forbid the holding of any public Assemblies till farther Orders, during which they appointed certain solemn Festivals; which Order *Sulpitius* disregarded, and thereupon went into the *Forum* at the head of 600 of his Partizans, who carried Arms under their Gowns, and whom he called his *Anti-Senate*. He then summoned the Consuls to appear, and annul their Suspension of the Assembly, which exciting great Tumults between the old and new Citizens, the Partizans of the Tribune drew their Swords, and attacked the Multitude. Immediately the People fled, when *Pompey's* Son, who was Son-in-law to *Sylla*, was killed, as he endeavoured to assist his Father. *Pompey* hid himself in the Crowd; and as for *Sylla*, being closely pursued by his Enemies, he fled into *Marius's* House, the Door of which was open. *Marius*, tho' naturally vindictive, yet would not suffer a Man to be murdered who had fled for Refuge to his House. However, *Sylla* was forced to appear in public, and annul the Celebration of the solemn Festivals. And now finding no farther Security for himself in *Rome*, he left it, and arrived among the Troops he had commanded during the Social War, and which were to march under his Command against *Mitridates*. *Sulpitius* being

being now Master of *Rome*, by the Flight of the Consuls, got the-Law to pass, which had occasioned the Tumult, and, at the same Time transferred the Command of the War against the Monarch above-mentioned from *Sylla* to *Marius*.

Q. Did not this give rise to the Civil War between those two *Romans* ?

A. *Marius* sent Officers of his own Party to command in the Army, but they were killed by the Soldiers, who all declared for *Sylla*. *Marius*, exasperated at the Murder of his Officers, put to Death many of *Sylla*'s Friends, and plundered their Houses. These Butcheries made the latter resolve to march for *Rome* before he crossed into *Asia*. *Sylla* was at the Head of six Legions, who all breathed the same Spirit with himself ; and he was soon joined by *Pompey*, his Colleague in the Consulate. Upon this, *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, having no Army on Foot, sent *Brutus* and *Servilius*, both Praetors, and their Partisans, who, with a very proud Air, commanded *Sylla* not to continue his March. But his Soldiers exasperated at the haughty Terms in which the two Praetors had spoke to their General, broke the Rods and Axes which the Lictors carried before those Magistrates ; rushed upon them, tore their purple Robes, and would have killed them, had they not been saved by *Sylla*. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* now sent Deputies to the two Consuls, and intreated them to suspend their Resentment. The Consuls pretended to indulge their Request ; but immediately after *Sylla* marched out his whole Army, and appeared at the Gates of *Rome*, when the Enemy thought him in his Camp.

Q. What followed upon this ?

A. *Sylla* entered *Rome* in a hostile Way ; when *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, tho' come upon by surprize, opposed him with a Party of their Adherents ; and the Citizens being afraid they should be plundered, declared in their Favour, and threw Darts and Stones from the Tops of the Houses on *Sylla*'s Soldiers. But this General having threatened to fire the City ; and taking up a lighted Torch, the Citizens suspended this Kind of Hostilities, and let the two Parties fight it out. 'Twas in vain that *Marius* and *Sulpitius* called aloud for the Assistance of

the People, not a Man offering to stir; and Sylla's Troops advancing still forwards repulsed them as far as the Temple of the Goddess *Tellus*, whence they were obliged to fly from *Rome*; and thus began the first Civil War of any Note among the *Romans*. Sylla being thus Master of that City, would not suffer his Soldiers to commit the least Disorder, and sat up the whole Night for that Purpose. And now the two Consuls, to give a Sanction to their Conduct, formed the Design of raising the Authority of the Senate, which the Tribunes of the People had greatly weakened, by the numberless Multitude of Laws enacted in Favour of the *Plebeians*. For this Purpose they convened an Assembly of the People.

Q. What Speech was made by Sylla?

A. "The Dissensions (says he) which have so long infested the City and the State, are wholly owing to the restless and seditious Spirit of the Tribunes, who, to raise their Power, set every Engine at work to excite the Hatred of the People against the Senate. These popular Magistrates, who were instituted in no other View but to preserve the Liberties and Privileges of the *Roman Citizens*, have seized, by insensible Degrees upon the whole Government of the Republic. These Tribunes, by Laws unknown to their Ancestors, have found the Secret to abolish the Authority of the Consuls, and the Dignity of the Senate. To give a Colour to these Usurpations, to which they give the specious Name of Laws, they have abolished, in the Election of Magistrates, the Custom established from Time immemorial, of gathering the Votes by *Centuries*; and have substituted, to this ancient Usage, that of collecting the Voices by Tribes, particularly in the Election of Tribunes of the People. By this Change, in which the Suffrages of the *Patricians* and rich Men are blended and confounded with those of the Poor, instead of taking them by *Centuries*, the inferior People have it always in their Power to elect whom they please; and they generally make choice of the seditious and turbulent, rather than of good and virtuous Men.— Now, to put a Stop to these Abuses, so pernicious to the Repose and Felicity of the State, it will be proper
" that,

" that, henceforward, no Person, of what Rank or Condition soever, be allowed to propose any Law to the People, till after it has been approved by the Senate, in order that the Votes may be collected only by Centuries. 'Twill also be requisite to prohibit the Tribunes from making those everlasting Harangues, which are so many Trumpets of Sedition. And to limit the insatiable Ambition of those *Plebeian Magistrates*, a solemn Law ought to be enacted, *viz.* That every Citizen who has been Tribune, should be thereby disqualified from holding any other Employment in the State." These Proposals were received as so many Laws, and *Rome* assumed a new Face under *Sylla's Consulship*.

Q. What was his next Attempt?

A. After having established his Authority, he now resolved to revenge his private Injuries. Accordingly he annulled the Decree by which the Command of the Army against *Mithridates* was given to *Marius*; and repealed the Law preferred by *Sulpitius*, *viz.* For admitting the Allies into the 35 ancient Tribes. Then *Marius*, his Son, *Sulpitius*, and 12 of the chief Senators of their Party, were declared Enemies to *Rome*. A Price was set upon their Heads, and their Goods exposed to public Sale; and the Decree of the Senate was published by Sound of Trumpet in *Rome*, and in all the Provinces dependent on the Republic. *Sylla* immediately dispatched Troops into all Quarters, in order to seize and kill them. *Marius* escaped the Search; but as for *Sulpitius*, being discovered in the Fens of *Laurentium* by some of *Sylla's* Soldiers, his Head was struck off, and being brought to *Rome*, was fixed on the *Roftra*, a Spectacle that struck the Inhabitants with the utmost Terror; and now both *Patricians* and *Plebeians* began to conceive a Hatred against *Sylla* for this Action, and his so ignominiously proscribing *Marius*.

Q. What happened the Year after?

A. *Sylla* found that the People were alienated from him, by their rejecting such of his Creatures as were Candidates for some Offices of State. However, he seemed not to regard these Slights; and even permitted

Con-

Ann. Rom. 666. *Cornelius Cinna*, a Relation of his, but of an opposite Party, to be elected Consul. This *Cinna*, tho' of a *Patrician Family*, had yet devoted himself to the People, among whom he hoped to meet with greater Regard and Esteem, than among the Nobles, many of whom were illustrious Captains and able Magistrates. This *Roman* was of a dissolute Character ; tho' thoughtless and rash in his Designs, he nevertheless supported them with a Courage and Greatness of Soul, worthy a better Citizen. *Cinna* immediately boasted that he would abolish all *Sylla's Laws*. He even attacked him directly ; and, to sound the Disposition of the People, he suborned one of his Creatures to impeach *Sylla*. But this great Man, despising equally the Baseness of the Accuser, and the Fickleness of the Person who set him at work, without condescending to answer to the Charge, left the Prosecution and the Judges, and went from *Rome* in order to carry on the War against *Mithridates*.

Q. How did *Cinna* behave in the absence of *Sylla* ?

A. He resolved if possible, to get *Marius* restored ; but it being extremely difficult to get the Decree of his Prescription reversed, because of the powerful Party which *Sylla* had in *Rome* ; *Cinna*, to balance the Credit of it, and to gain the greater Number of Votes, undertook to win over the Allies to his Interest. For this Purpose he sent Messages to them privately, to desire them to come, in as great Numbers as possible, the first Day that an Assembly should be held ; and all bring Swords under their Gowns. They accordingly came, and in such Multitudes, that even the Inhabitants of *Rome* could scarce make their Way to the Assembly. *Cinna* then mounted the *Roftra*, and spoke as follows : " As the " *Latines* and *Italians* are of the same Country with the " *Romans*, as they speak the same Language, live under " almost the same Laws, and expose their Lives daily, " to support the Glory and Interest of the Common- " wealth ; it therefore would be just, to compose but " one Body, and one single Republic, of the different " Nations of *Italy*. Now, to complete this Union, the " eight last Tribes must be suppressed, and incorporated " by Lot into the ancient ones. No other Method can

" be

" be found to maintain Peace and Harmony in the
" different Orders of the State, to increase the Forces
" of it, and to make them formidable to the Enemies
" of the *Roman Name.*"

Q. What Reception did this Speech meet with ?

A. It was extremely grateful, as will be supposed, to the Allies, who now were very urgent to have Votes gathered, in order for the passing of this Law. But the antient Citizens being exasperated at this Motion ; " 'Tis enough (said they) that these Strangers are associated to the *Roman Name* ; are allowed the Rights and Privileges annexed to it ; and see themselves, from Subjects, made Citizens of *Rome* ; let them therefore not pretend to concern themselves, in opposition to our Inclinations, with our Tribes, in order to give Laws to them by the Superiority of their Voices." Disputes ensuing upon this, the Allies drew their Swords from under their Gowns, attacked the antient Citizens, and put them to Flight. The greatest Part of them went and complained to the Senate, and addressed *Oæavius*, *Cinna's* CoHeague in the Consulship, and a professed Friend to *Sylla*. *Oæavius* put himself at the head of *Sylla's* Creatures, broke through the People, and charging the *Latines* put them to Flight. Immediately the Inhabitants of *Rome* take up Arms ; fall upon the Allies, who were dispersed in the Streets, and beat them out of the City.

Q. What did *Cinna* ?

A. Being thus abandoned, he ran up and down *Rome* to rally his Adherents ; and even invited the Slaves to join him, promising them their Liberty on that condition. He employs his utmost Endeavours to raise a Sedition ; but not being seconded, was obliged to yield to the prevailing Party. He then left *Rome*, and went to the Crowd of *Italians*, whom he had invited thither. He visited *Tiber Præneste*, *Nola*, and the rest of their Cities ; and, in all Places through which he passed, he exhorted the People to take up Arms, in order to wreak their Vengeance on the *Romans*. He was seconded by *C. Milius*, and particularly by *Q. Sertorius*, an excellent Commander, who had joined this Party to revenge himself of that of *Sylla*, which had excluded him the Tribunechip.

bune ship. These Senators exiting the Resentment of the Allies, War was resolved upon in most of the Cities; the Infection soon became general; and *Cinna*, at the Head of this new Party, began to levy Men and Money. The Senate hearing of his pernicious Designs, divested him of the Dignity of Consul; and *Lucius Merula*, Priest of *Jupiter*, and one of the worthiest Men in the Commonwealth, was substituted in his room.

Q. Did not this exasperate *Cinna*?

A. Being naturally of a furious Temper, he was for ever revolving Projects to ruin his Enemies. But being in want of Forces, he resolved to gain a Body of *Romans*, who were then encamped near *Capua*. Being arrived in the Camp, he addressed himself first to some military Tribunes, whom he won over to his Interest. These Officers calling the Soldiers together, says *Cinna* to them; " You behold in me a most extraordinary Example of the Tyranny of the Senate. You had made me Consul: The *Roman* People had bestowed this Dignity upon me by their Votes; and the Senate just now divested me of it without hearing me, and even without consulting the People. After such an Outrage, what Hopes can you entertain of your Liberties, your Rights, and Suffrages? 'Twas nevertheless those very Suffrages, the Number of which I would have increased, in order to support your Authority, that have drawn upon me this cruel Treatment. Had I been less a Friend to the People, I should have still been at the Head of the Senate; and you would have seen me in your Tribunal, invested with all the *Insignia* of my Office: but instead of this, I now present myself with the Air of a Suppliant; and as a wretched Outlaw, having neither Home nor Household Gods; reduced to the sad Necessity of roving up and down like a Vagabond, or of hiding myself in a Country, over which I have a right to command."

Q. Were not the Soldiers moved?

A. Seeing *Cinna* tear his Robe, as a Man who was tortured with the deepest Affliction; calling upon the Gods who revenge Injustice, and ready to rush upon his own Sword; they raised him up, set him in his Tribunal; when every one exhorting him not to despise, they

they give him the *Fasces*, and appoint him Lictors; and the Army being won over by the principal Officers, they recognize him for their Consul and Generalissimo, and take the accustomed Oath of Fidelity. *Cinna* soon grew formidable, upon which *Ostavius* and *Merula*, the two Consuls, make new Levies by Order of the Senate; and at the same Time *Cn. Pompey*, Father to *Pompey* the great was recalled. He then commanded a Body of Troops on the Coast of the *Ionian Sea*, and came and encamped before the *Porta Collatina*, in order to secure *Rome*. However, the Commonwealth drew little Advantage from this General, who always managed Matters so artfully between the two Parties, ever since *Sylla*'s Departure, that 'twas never known which of them was most favoured by him. He perhaps endeavoured to build his own Fortune on the Ruin of both Parties, a Circumstance that afterwards made him equally odious to both. In the mean Time *Cinna*'s Party increased daily; several Senators came to his Camp, and a Report was spread, that *Marius* and his Son were advancing towards it.

Q. Where was *Marius* at that Time?

A. He lived in a kind of Exile, in the Island of *Cercina*, on the Coast of *Africa*, whither he had fled with his Son and some *Roman* Senators who followed his Fortune. *Caius Marius*, at upwards of seventy Years of Age, after having so long enjoyed the Consulate with equal Authority and Glory, had been forced to fly from *Rome* on foot, unaccompanied by any Friends, and even so much as a Servant. After wandering some Time in this deplorable Condition, he was obliged, to secure himself from the Troopers whom *Sylla* had sent after him, to retire into a Fen, where he passed the whole Night, standing up to the Neck in Mud. At Day break he came out of it, in order to get to the Sea-shore, in the Hopes of meeting with some vessel, which might convey him out of *Italy*. But being known by the Inhabitants of *Minturnæ*, a Town in *Campania*, he was seized, and carried to that City with a Rope about his Neck, stark-naked, and covered with Dirt. The Magistrates, in Obedience to the Orders of the Senate, immediately sent a public Slave, a *Cimbrian*, to put him to Death.

Q. Was

Q. Was not *Marius* terrified at this?

A. Seeing the Slave come in, and guessing his Design by the drawn Sword he held in his Hand, he cried aloud, "Barbarous Wretch, dost thou dare to assassinate *Caius Marius?*" The Slave, terrified at the bare Name of a Man, so formidable to the *Cimbri*, threw down his Sword, and ran out of Prison in the utmost Terror, and crying, "'Twill be impossible for me to kill *Marius*." The Magistrates of *Minturnæ* looked upon the Fear and Confusion of this Slave, as a tacit Testimony of the Care the Gods had to preserve the Life of that great Man; and being struck with a religious Awe, they cried, "Let him go whithersoever the Fates may conduct him; and let the Decree of the Senate be put in force against him in any Place but this. We only beseech the Gods to forgive us, if a Superior Authority forces us to drive from our City the Man who formerly secured all *Italy* from the Incursions of the Barbarians."

They then provided him with a Ship, which carried him into the Island of *Ænaria*.

Q. Is not this Incident related in another Manner?

A. We are told that *Marius*, being discovered by the Inhabitants of *Minturnæ*, was, by Order of the Magistrates, confined in the House of one *Fannia*; they thinking she would revenge herself for the Sentence *Marius* had pronounced against her some Time before, in a Cause between her and *C. Titinius* her Husband, a Citizen of *Minturnæ*, who had married her, notwithstanding the Reputation she had of being unchaste; and who afterwards wanted to convict her of Adultery, in order that she might be divorced from him, and he not obliged to return her Portion. *Marius*, who had been appointed Judge in this Cause, had pronounced, that *Titinius* should give back the Portion; and that *Fannia* should be deem'd as duly convicted of Adultery, and be fined a very trifling Sum. *Fannia*, so far from harbouring the least Disgust against *Marius*, discovered the highest Esteem for him, gave him the most generous Treatment, and assisted him in making his Escape from *Minturnæ*.

Q. What befel *Marius* in *Ænaria*?

A. He there found *Granius* a Senator, one of his Adherents, and some others of his proscrib'd Friends, who informed

informed him, that his Son was fled to the Court of *Mandrestal, or Hiempſal, King of Numidia*; upon which *Marius* sailed for *Africa*. A Storm arising, he was obliged to put into *Sicily*, where he met with new Dangers. He was scarce got on Shore, when a *Roman Quæſtor*, who commanded in that Country, and happened to be there accidentally, would have seized him. They fought; and *Marius* escaped, after loſing ſixteen of his Attendants, who made a vigorous Defence, in order that he might have an Opportunity of returning to his Ship. After ſome Days Sail he arrived in *Africa*, and landed near *Carthage*. *Sextilius* was *Prætor* in that Province; and as *Marius* had never offendèd him, he imagined that he would not moleſt him; and that he ſhould at laſt meet with an Asylum, to repoſe himſelf after the Fa-tigues he had undergone at Sea. But he had not been there many Days, when a Lictor came, and ordered him in the *Prætor's Name*, to leave the Country; and that otherwife he would be treated as an Enemy to the *Romans*. *Marius* grieved to the Soul, and enraged to find that not ſo much as a Nook was allowed him to hide his Head in: he who had been Sovereign, in ſome Measure, of the Globe; gazed upon the Lictor in deep Silence. But being preeſted to anſwer, he ſpoke thus: " Tell thy " Master, that thou haſt ſeen *Marius*, banished from his " native Country, and ſitting on the Ruins of *Car-thage*;" as though, by comparing his Misfortunes with those of the mighty Empire of the *Carthaginians*, he thereby would remind the *Prætor* of the Instability of all huinan Things.

Q Did *Marius* obey the Orders?

A. He put to Sea, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, and ſpent Part of the Winter in roving up and down thoſe Seas; waiting for the Return of one of his Attendants, whom he had ſent to *Numidia* to *Marius* his Son, in order that he might procure him a Retreat in that Country. But *Marius* was agreeably ſurprized when he ſaw him arrive. The *Barbarian King* had, at firſt, indulged young *Marius* a favourable Recep-tion; but hearing afterwards of the Father's Miſfortune, he resolved to keep the Son as a Hostage which Fortune ſent him, and to make a Merit of it

with

with that Party which should get the upper Hand. Young *Marius* was therefore kept as a Prisoner at large ; and happening to get into the good Graces of one of the King's Mistresses, Love, disguised in Pity, made that Princess sympathize with him in his Misfortunes ; and, notwithstanding her secret Passion for him, she had yet the Generosity to assist him in his Escape.

Q. What did *Cinna* when News was brought that *Marius* was coming to join him ?

A. *Sertorius* advised him not to let that great *Roman* come into his Camp ; but *Cinna* invited him to it, gave him the Title of Proconsul, and sent him Lictors, with all the *Insignia* of that Office. *Marius* being arrived, would not accept of the Lictors and Ornaments, but, on the contrary, affected to wear a tattered Robe : His Hair and Beard were neglected ; he walked with a slow Pace, and as a Man who was oppressed with the mighty Weight of his Misfortunes. Nevertheless, thro' this melancholy Aspect he assumed, an Air of Haughtiness was discovered, which excited Terror rather than Compassion. Multitudes now flocked to *Marius* from all Parts, he giving out, that the only Motive of his taking up Arms, was to force the ancient Tribes to admit the Allies among them. He was soon joined by a great Number of Slaves, to whom he had promised their Liberty ; and, of a select Number of these, he composed his Body-Guard.

Q. Did not *Cinna* and *Marius* advance towards *Rome* ?

A. They did not meet with the least Opposition in their March. The Chief Commanders in their Army were *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Carbo* Lieutenant to the former, and *Sertorius* ; and these blocked up *Rome*. At this Time *Cn. Pompey*, who was in the other Party, was killed by a Thunderbolt, to the great Joy of both Sides ; and *Octavius* the Consul, who was an honest but weak Man, was obliged to succeed *Pompey* in his Command of the Army. *Sylla* being at too great a Distance to be recalled, the Senate sent for *Cecilius Metellus*, a very brave experienced General, and Son of *Numidicus*. *Metellus* was then engaged against the *Samnites*, who were the only People that remained unconquered in the Social War. This General left his Army under

the

the Command of Lieutenants, and came to *Octavius's* Camp, during which, *Marius* prevailed with the *Samnites* to declare in his Favour. The Soldiers in *Octavius's* Army cried aloud, that they would have none but *Metellus* for their General; but upon his modestly refusing the Command, and censuring the Soldiers for their Contempt they shewed *Octavius*, the greatest Part of them went over to *Marius*. *Rome* was now in the utmost Confusion; the People being in want of Provisions, exclaimed against the Senators, many of whom began to be tired of the Civil War. The Senate to put an end to these Distractions, and fearing a general Revolt, sent a Deputation to *Cinna*, by which they recognized him as Consul, and *Merula* generously resigned the Consulate on that Occasion. As for *Metellus*, finding Affairs desperate, he withdrew towards *Liguria*, but *Octavius* resolved to stay in *Rome*.

Q. Did not *Cinna* and *Marius* enter the City?

A. The former marched in first, attended by his Guards, after having made a solemn Promise not to put any Person to Death in an illegal Manner. *Marius* halted at the Gates, when his Friends desiring him to advance forward, he said, that as he had been sent into Exile by a public Decree, another must be issued to authorize his Return. This cruel *Roman* still feigned a Reverence for the Laws; and therefore to content him they were obliged to assemble the People. However, finding the Ceremony too long, and being impatient to indulge his blood-thirsty Humour, he threw off the Mask, and rushed into the City with a Party of Soldiers who immediately butchered those whom he had marked out for Destruction. Several illustrious Senators were murdered in the Streets, and made the first Victims to *Marius's* Revenge. He caused their Heads to be set upon the Rostra; and, as though he would extend his Vengeance even beyond the Grave, he ordered the mangled Bodies to be left in the Streets, that they might be devoured by the Dogs.

Q. Were these all the remarkable Murders?

A. *Octavius*, the Consul, was killed in his Tribunal; and *Merula*, hearing that he was proscribed, ordered his

Veias

Veins to be cut open, that his Enemies might not have the cruel Satisfaction to prescribe the Form of his Execution. But as he was the Priest of *Jupiter*; and as by the Laws of their Religion all Persons invested with that sacred Character were forbid to die with their Mitres on; a Writing was found after his Death, declaring, that he had taken it off before his Veins were opened, in order that he might not profane it by the Effusion of his Blood. Afterwards fell *Mark Anthony*, a Senator of Consular Dignity, (Grandfather to the Triumvir with *Augustus*) an excellent Orator; who, by the Charms of his Eloquence, defended himself a considerable Time against the Rage of the Soldiers. Q. *Catulus*, who had contributed no less than *Marius* to the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, was the next Victim. *Catulus* being told that he was proscribed, shut himself up in a Room, and was suffocated by the Smoke of the Coal, which he had caused to be brought for that Purpose. The furious Multitude of Slaves, whom *Marius* had appointed the Instruments of his Revenge murdered the Fathers of Families, plundered Houses, deflowered Women, and forced away Children. At the least Signal made by their bloody Leader, they butchered any Person; and he even commanded them to kill all those, whose Salute he did not return.

Q. Was he not vexed to the Soul, because he could not wreak his Vengeance on *Sylla*?

A. Yes; but he endeavoured to satiate it in the Persons of those who were dearest to him. He sought after *Metella* his Wife, Daughter to *Numidicus*, and their Children, but they all had the good Fortune to escape. *Marius* swelled with Fury at this, pulled down *Sylla's* House, confiscated his Possessions; and, whilst that renowned General was subjecting Kingdoms to the Power of the Romans, *Marius* did not blush to make him be declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth. He then repealed all the Laws which *Sylla* had made in his Consulship; and secured that Office for *Cinna* and himself the Ann. Rom. 667. following Year, in order that they might strengthen themselves against *Sylla*, whose Return they very much dreaded. But that great Captain, tho' strongly urged by his Wife, his Children, and Friends, to turn his Arms against his own Enemies,

Enemies, did nevertheless resolve to vanquish *Mithridates* and afterwards march against *Rome*. In the mean Time he wrote a long Letter to the Senate in which he represented, in the strongest Terms, his important Services, and the great Injuries he had received ; and concluded with saying, that he hoped to return soon to *Rome* at the Head of a victorious Army, and that then he would revenge all Injuries both of a public and private Nature.

Q. Was not *Marius* intimidated at the Report of *Sylla's* Return ?

A. He now revolved in his Mind his former Misfortunes, his Banishment, the Dangers he had encountered both by Sea and Land, and was afraid of being again exposed, in his advanced Age, to the like Perils. These gloomy Reflections, which haunted him perpetually, would not let him sleep. To drive them from his Mind, he had Recourse to the Bottle. But this new kind of Life, and the Excess he gave into, brought a Pleurisy upon him, of which he died, in his seventh Consulate, and in the 70th Year of his Age, no Man having ever enjoyed the above-mentioned Office so many Times. An Historian relates, that *Marius*, walking one Evening with his Friends, entertained them with an Account of the chief Events of his Life ; and closed the whole with saying, that he did not think it became a Man of Sense, who was so far advanced in Years as himself, to confide any longer in so fickle a Goddess as Fortune. That he then embraced the whole Company with a Tenderness, which was not usual to him ; and going to Bed, died a few Days after.

Q. What followed after this ?

A. Young *Marius*, inheriting his Father's Cruelty with his Power, imminately put to Death several Senators, who had escaped the first Fury of the Proscription. This young Man joined in a very close Union with *Cinna* ; and they associated in their *Faction Valerius Flaccus*, a Creature of *Marius*, whom they, by their Arts, procured to be his Successor in the Consulate. They now debated among themselves how to prevent the Return of *Sylla* ; and at last agreed to send an Army into *Asia*, against *Mithridates*, upon Pretence that the War, which *Sylla* carried

on

on against this Monarch, was not authorized by the Commonwealth ; and that as the Senate had divested him of the Command, it consequently was not lawful. *Cinna* telling *Valerius*, that it would be proper for him to head that Enterprize, this Consul set out from *Rome* at the Head of two Legions. *Valerius* was of a haughty and choleric Disposition ; being puffed up with his new Dignity, he treated cruelly the common Soldiers, and was odious to the Officers because of his Pride. His Soul was dead to all Sensations of Gratitude, because he ascribed the Regard that was shewn him, to no other Motive but the Fear of his Power. As *Cinna* did not entertain a very favourable Idea of *Valerius*'s Abilities, he appointed, as his Lieutenant, a Senator called *Fimbria*, who was as much beloved by the Soldiers for his Valour, as *Valerius* was abhorred for his Severity. Being arrived in *Afia*, a Quarrel broke out between them, which was carried to such a Height, that *Valerius* fled ignominiously from the Camp, and hid himself in a Well ; where being discovered by *Fimbria*, he drew him from thence, and slew him though a Consul and his Commander, with his own Hand ; after which he made the whole Army take an Oath of Fidelity to him, to secure him from *Cinna*'s Resentment.

Q. Was *Fimbria* successful against *Mithridates* ?

A. Being an excellent Commander, he gained great Advantages over that Monarch and his Lieutenants. He attacked chiefly *Mithridates* himself, whom he obliged, after a Defeat, to quit *Pergamus*, a City of *Troas*, and retire to *Pitane*, a Fortress, whither Succours might be brought him from Sea. *Fimbria* nevertheless besieged him there ; but having no Fleet to block up the Port, he sent and desired *Lucullus*, who commanded *Sylla*'s Fleet, to come up and assist (notwithstanding the Difference of Parties) in crushing the great Enemy of the Romans. Had *Lucullus* joined him, *Mithridates* would have been inevitably ruined, but he possibly did not care to have any concern with a Man, who had murdered a Consul. The Sea being open to the Monarch, he withdrew from the Fortress above-mentioned, and carried on the War with various Success, against *Fimbria* and *Sylla*.

Q. What

Q. What Actions had been performed by *Sylla* in his War against *Mitridates* ?

A. In less than three Years he had recovered all the Cities of *Greece*; defeated, in two pitch'd Battles three of the Generals of that Monarch, who commanded an Army in *Bœotia* of above 100,000 Men, tho' *Sylla* himself had but 15,000; *Marius's Party* not permitting any Succours to be sent him from *Rome*. However, his Victories brought Riches and Abundance into his Camp; his Army increased; Men flocked from all Parts to fight under his Ensigns, and *Asia* furnished him immense Sums. *Sylla*, by these Succours, and being at the Head of a victorious Army, would have extended his Conquests farther, had not his Disquietude, with regard to what was transacting at *Rome*, and the Desire of restoring his Party to its former Lustre and Vigour, prevailed, in his Mind over the Advantages which he might justly hope to gain by continuing the War. He nevertheless was firmly resolved not to quit *Asia*, till he had reduced his Enemy by Force of Arms, or his Dominions to their ancient Limits by a Treaty. *Mitridates*, who felt no less Uneasiness, and was afraid lest so able and fortunate a Commander should drive him quite out of *Asia*, sent secret Orders to *Archelaus*, one of his Generals, to conclude a Peace upon any Conditions.

Q. What followed upon this?

A. After an Interview between *Archelaus* and *Sylla*, the latter said; that if *Mitridates* was desirous of obtaining Peace, he must abandon *Asia Minor* and *Paphlagonia*; must restore *Bitynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*; that he should pay 2000 Talents for defraying the Expence of the War, and give up 70 Gallies. *Sylla*, on these Conditions, promised the Senate should confirm *Mitridates* in the Possession of his remaining Kingdoms, and declare him a Friend and Ally to the People of *Rome*. The Treaty being agreed to on these Terms, the Articles of it were sent to *Mitridates*. This King consented to every one of them, those relating to *Paphlagonia* and his Gallies excepted. But *Sylla* menacing to ruin *Mitridates*, in case he refused to ratify the Treaty, sent word that he would come and conclude it in Person. The Monarch desired this Interview, in order that he might concert

concert Measures with *Sylla* for the checking the Progress of *Fimbria*, who did not recognize *Sylla's* Authority.

Q. What was the Result of this Interview?

A. *Mitridates*, meeting *Sylla* in *Dardania*, a City of *Troas*, put out his Hand to him, in token of Friendship; but the latter, before he would return the Civility, asked whether he accepted the Peace on the Conditions stipulated by *Archelaus*? The King, surprised at the Haughtiness of the *Roman General*, after giving some Reasons to justify his taking up Arms, declared that he agreed to all the Articles of the Treaty. Then *Sylla* embraced the King, and presented to him *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*. He assured him, at the same Time, that he would soon put it out of *Fimbria's* Power to give him the least Disquietude; and after this they separated. *Sylla's* Soldiers were very much disgusted at this Treaty.

Q. What became of *Fimbria*?

A. *Sylla* marched against him, and sent a Messenger to *Fimbria*, commanding him to resign his Command. The latter refusing, the two Generals fortified their respective Camps. As the Soldiers in both were of the same Nation, and most of them born in the same City, their foraging Parties treated one another very courteously; and many of *Fimbria's* Men going secretly into *Sylla's* Camp, were prevailed upon to desert, by the generous Treatment they met with. At last such Numbers went over, that *Fimbria* seeing himself betrayed, sent to desire an Interview with *Sylla*. This General deputed *Rutilius* one of his Officers, for that Purpose, who commanded him, in *Sylla's* Name, to leave the Province. *Fimbria* judging by the haughty Air with which this Order was delivered, that his Destruction was resolved, answered, that he knew a much shorter Way; immediately after which he returned to *Pergamus*, and going into the Temple of *Æsculapius* in that City, he ran upon his own Sword; but the Wound not being mortal, he got a Slave to dispatch him; who afterwards killed himself upon his Master's Body. The rest of the Soldiers enlisted themselves under *Sylla*; who, after leaving the Command of his Troops to *Murena*, and appointing *Lucullus* to levy Money, set out for *Italy* at the Head of his Army.

Q. What

Q. What Effect had the Report of Sylla's March in Rome?

A. Cinna and Carbo the two Consuls, Ann. Rom. 679. young Marius, and the other chiefs of this Party, levied Troops, and enrolled Legions; called the Samnites to their Aid, and formed different Armies, to oppose their common Enemy. Cinna was determined to cross over into Dalmatia with his; but many of his Soldiers refusing to go, a Sedition broke out in the Camp. Cinna going to speak with the Mutineers, an Officer who cleared the Way for him struck one of those Soldiers, who striking him again, and being seized for it, a great Tumult ensued, in which Cinna was run through the Body. After his Death Carbo enjoyed the Consulate singly, the remaining Part of the Year.

Q. What was Sylla doing all this Time?

A. Being come to the Sea-shore of Asia, his whole Army bound themselves to him by a fresh Oath. He then embarked, and landed safe at Brundusium, without meeting with the least Opposition. Whilst his Troops were refreshing themselves there, he was joined by Metellus, at the Head of a great Body of new-levied Forces. Marcus Crassus, of the Family of Licinia, proscribed by Marius and Cinna, was come to him before, but now left his Camp, and returned to it not long after with a great Number of Troops he had levied by his Credit and his Friends; and afterwards shared with him in all the Dangers and Glory of this War. But of all the Succours Sylla was favoured with on this Occasion, none gave him so much Satisfaction, as that brought him by Cn. Pompey, called afterwards Pompey the Great, and at that Time scarce 23 Years of Age. His Army consisted of three Legions, and he had been forced to fight his Way to Sylla; after having given Brutus, a Leader in the other Party, a signal Overthrow. Sylla received Pompey with unusual Marks of Distinction, and gave him the Title of Imperator, notwithstanding he had not yet sat in the Senate; and though this Title was bestowed only on such Generals of the Commonwealth as had gained a Victory. Pompey being some Time after sent for to Rome, demanded the Honours of a Triumph: But Sylla refused his Request, and said, that as he was but a

Knight, had not filled any of the great Employments of the State, and was too young to be admitted into the Senate, it did not become him to sue for an Honour, which was bestowed on the Consuls, the Praetors, and Dictators only. Pompey then turning about to some of his Friends spoke, so loud as to be heard, as follows: "The Sun, at its Rising, has always more Worshippers than at its Setting." Sylla admiring these bold Words, changed his Resolution that Moment, and cried, "Let him triumph."

Q. What was transacted by the two Parties?

A. Sylla had brought but 30,000 Men with him from Asia, and his Enemies had 200,000 Foot, besides the Cavalry. All these were divided into different Corps, and commanded by 15 General Officers, headed by L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Junius Norbanus, Ann. Rom. 670. the Consuls that Year. Sylla seeing himself surrounded by so many Bodies, sent to Scipio, to desire, invidiously, an Accommodation. A Suspension of Arms being agreed, Sylla's Soldiers went frequently into Scipio's Camp, upon Pretence of visiting their Friends, but, in Reality to corrupt them. This crafty Conduct had made Carbo say, that, in Sylla, he was to combat a Fox and a Lion; but that he dreaded the former much more than the latter. Sylla, by his Artifice, drew over the whole Army from Scipio, whom he set at Liberty, after his making a solemn Promise never to take up Arms any more against him. Sylla then attempted the same Experiment upon Norbanus's Soldiers, but failing in it, they fought; and Norbanus, after losing above 7000 Men, fled to Capua with the Remains of his Army. The rest of the Campaign was spent in secret Negotiations. Sylla was now joined by a powerful Body of Cisalpine Gauls, young Marius by 40,000 Samnites; and Sertorius waged War very successfully in Spain. About this Time the Capitol was burnt down, but by what Means was not known.

Q. Did not Sylla and Marius come to a Battle?

A. Papirius Carbo, being elected Con-Ann. Rom. 671. sul a third Time, with young Marius, both Armies took the Field in Spring. Being come in Sight of each other, Marius offered Sylla Battle,

Battle, who accepted the Challenge. Both Parties fought with incredible Bravery, and Victory was a long Time doubtful, until *Sylla* corrupted five Cohorts, who went over to him with their General, which soon turned the Scale. However, the mighty Name of *Caius Marius* did not obscure his Son's Glory. This young Man displayed in the Battle all the Capacity of a veteran General, and the intrepid Valour of a young Officer. He often rallied his Troops, returned to the Charge, and was one of the last who retired. He threw himself into *Præneste*, which was a great Oversight in young *Marius*, as he had so many Armies under his Command. *Sylla*, after blocking up that City, set out for *Rome*, at the Head of a Detachment.

Q. Did he meet with any Opposition there?

A. *Marius's* Adherents had left it ; and the Inhabitants, oppressed by the Miseries which are inseparable from a Civil War, opened their Gates to him. *Sylla* having thus possessed himself of *Rome*, assembled the People, to whom he made a Speech ; and, after confiscating the Estates of the Parties of *Marius*, he returned to the Army, in order to put an End to the Civil War by the taking of that General. Whilst *Marius* was blocked up in *Præneste*, he sent an Order to *Brutus*, *Prætor* of *Rome*, to put to Death several Persons specified by him, which cruel Proscription was accordingly put in Execution. *Carbo*, the Consul, endeavoured to throw a Body of Forces into *Præneste*, which was now become the principal Object of the War. *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Metellus*, *Carbo*, and *Norbanus*, exerted themselves with Skill and Bravery on Occasion of this Siege ; especially *Metellus*, who gloriously defeated the two last-mentioned Generals, slew a great Number of their Men, and took 6000 Prisoners. Upon the News of this Defeat, *Albinovanus*, who commanded a Legion under *Norbanus*, having invited this Consul with the chief Officers in his Army to an Entertainment, caused them all to be murdered, the General excepted, who had been prevented from going to it ; after which the Assassin surrendered himself with his Accomplices to *Sylla*. *Norbanus*, in Despair, fled to *Rhodes* ; and whilst the Magistrates were debating whether they should deliver him up to *Sylla*,

who demanded him, he laid violent Hands upon himself.

Q. What became of *Carbo* ?

A. Having been defeated by *Lucullus*, one of *Sylla's* Lieutenants, and *Pompey*; and finding it would be impossible for him to keep the Field, he left *Italy*, and sailed for *Africa*; but after roving a long Time up and down the Seas, he fell into the Hands of *Pompey*, who, to cut the Root of this Civil War, put him to Death. And now there survived of the great Number of Leaders, who had joined *Marius*, but *Carinas* and two more, and who were at the Head of four Legions. These joining *Telefinus*, General of the *Samnites*, who had upwards of 60,000 Men under his Command, designed to march and relieve *Præneste*. *Sylla* and *Pompey* thought to come upon them by Surprise, but *Telefinus* over-reached both, by marching his Army towards *Rome*, which filled the Inhabitants of it with the utmost Terror. Immediately they shut their Gates; the Men all run to Arms; whilst the Women, bathed in Tears, fly to the Temples; to invoke the Succour of the Gods. *Telefinus* being arrived before *Rome*, was resolved to raze it to the Ground; when a Body of young *Romans*, headed by *Appius Claudius*, made a Sally. They fought with incredible Bravery; *Appius* lost his Life, and *Rome* was upon the Point of being taken, when 700 Horse, dispatched by *Sylla*, came galloping into the City. At last *Sylla* himself arrived with his Army, and prepared for Battle soon after, giving *Craffus* the Command of the Right Wing, and himself heading the Left. Coming to an Engagement, both Parties fought with astonishing Fury; and *Sylla* had like to have been defeated, many of his Officers and Soldiers deserting him. The Battle continued till Night, *Sylla* not knowing what had been the Fate of his Right Wing, when an Express came from *Craffus*, with the News of his Victory. That General had slain upwards of 50,000 Men, among whom *Telefinus* was found; and 8000 were taken Prisoners, who were immediately butchered by *Sylla's* Order. *Carinas*'s Head was struck off, and being carried round the Walls of *Præneste*, the Citizens set open their Gates. *Marius* finding it impossible for him to escape, slew himself; after which *Sylla* put all the

the Inhabitants of *Præneste* to the Sword, the Women and Children excepted. The taking of this City put an End to the Civil War; *Sylla* entered *Rome* at the Head of his triumphant Army; and his Lieutenants possessed themselves of all the Cities in *Italy*.

Q. How did *Sylla* behave in *Rome*?

A. With great Cruelty. He caused an inhuman Massacre to be made of 6000 Men, who had fled to that City, to avoid the Death with which they were threatened; and as the Senate discovered their Surprise, at hearing the dying Cries of those unhappy People, *Sylla* told them, that they were only a Parcel of Wretches who were punishing by his Order. He even declared, in the next Assembly of the People, that all his Enemies should meet with the like Treatment; a little after which he caused to be posted up in the *Forum*, the Names of 40 Senators, and 500 Knights, all of whom he proscribed. Two Days after he proscribed the like Number of Senators, and a Multitude of the wealthiest Citizens of *Rome*. The Sons and Grandsons of the Proscribed were declared infamous. He ordained by a public Edict, that all who had saved any Person specified in the Proscription should themselves be included in it. Such Slaves as had assassinated their Masters, were largely recompensed for their Treachery; and, to the Scandal of human Nature, Children were seen, their Hands reeking with the Blood of their Fathers, coming to ask a horrid Reward for having murdered them. *Lucius Catalina* having prevailed with *Sylla* to include his Brother's Name, whom he murdered, among the Proscribed, in order that he might inherit his Estate; in Return for the Favour *Catalina* brought him the Head of *Marcus Marius*, (a Relation of *Caius Marius*) which he had struck off; and went afterwards and washed his bloody Hands in the lustral or holy Water of the Temple of *Apollo*. The possessing a great Estate was now a Crime. *Quintus Aurelius* a peaceable Citizen, who had always lived in a happy Obscurity, without being known either to *Marius* or *Sylla*, seeing, with Astonishment, his Name in the fatal Tables, wherein those of the Proscribed were written, cried with a deep Sigh: "Un-

" happy Wretch that I am ! I owe my Death to my fine House in *Alba* ;" he had not gone two Steps before he was assassinated by a Man, who had undertaken to murder him. Nothing was now heard every Day but new Proscriptions, and no Man was sure of being alive an Hour.

Q. Did the Proscriptions end here ?

A. *Sylla* afterwards extended them to Cities and whole Nations. He seized on all the Possessions, Houses, and Territories of such Cities of *Italy*, as, during the Civil War, had declared for *Marius*. These he bestowed on his Soldiers, and thereby bound them the stronger to his Fortune and Interest. But as these Usurpations, and many others, might very possibly not be permanent ; those who found their advantage in them, insinuated to him, that he ought to invest himself with the Dignity of Dictator, in order to have the Force of a Law, and a specious Appearance of Justice, to all Things that had been, or should be transacted by him. *Sylla* took their Advice, and caused himself to be created perpetual Dictator. In this Manner the *Romans* fell again under the Power of one Man ; though *Sylla*, to take away the strong Aversion which Republicans have for that kind of Government, masked a monarchic Power under the Title and Dignity of Dictator. However, the *Romans* had too much Sense not to perceive, that under ancient and known Names, a new Power had arisen, that was quite incompatible with Liberty.

B O O K II. Chap. VI.

From the perpetual Dictatorship of SYLLA, to the first Triumvirate, viz. that of CÆSAR, POMPEY, and CRASSUS.

Containing 22 Years.

Q. **W**HAT did *Sylla* at his Entrance to the Dictatorship ?

Ann. Rom. 672. **A.** He changed the Form of the Government at Will, abolished old Laws, enacted

enacted new ones, seized upon the public Treasury; and disposed, in a despotic Manner, of the Estates of his Fellow-Citizens, the best Part of which he gave to *Cras-sus*, who was called the wealthiest Roman. *Sylla*, who was as liberal to his Friends, as he was cruel to his Enemies, took a Pleasure in lavishing the Treasures of the Republic on those who had followed his Fortune; but then he required the most perfect Submission from them. However *Julius Cæsar*, though but a Youth, would not bow the Neck. *Sylla* had commanded that famous *Roman*, who was Nephew to *Marius's* Wife, to repudiate *Cornelia*, his Wife, and Daughter of *Cinna*; but *Cæsar* refusing to obey, *Sylla* resolved to proscribe him; but at last was prevailed on to lay aside that cruel Resolution. Several of *Cæsar's* Friends representing to *Sylla*, that he was too young to attempt any thing to his Prejudice; the Dictator replied, "I see many *Marius's* in this "young Man," which being told to *Cæsar's* Friends, they obliged him to leave *Rome*, and he did not return to it till after *Sylla's* Death.

Q. What Regulations did *Sylla* make in the Civil Government?

A. He added 300 *Equites* to the Senate, which had been very much thinned by the Civil Wars; and at the same Time he retrenched the Power of the *Equites*. He added 10,000 of the Slaves of the Proscribed to the People; giving them their Freedom, and calling them *Cornelii*, from his own Name; and he assigned many Lands to 23 Legions, to attach them the more firmly to his Interest. He afterwards enacted several Laws, his chief Aim in which was, to curb the Ambition of those who were desirous of ascending to the highest Employments at once; and, at the same time, to lessen the Authority of the Tribunes, whom he always hated, he excluded all those who had been Tribunes from holding any other Office; a Circumstance that very much degraded that Employment, which was the most powerful after the Dictatorship. And yet *Sylla*, to keep up a specious Shew of a Commonwealth, permitted Consuls to be created; though it was manifest that he reigned singly; he having 24 Lictors with their Fasces and Axes, and a strong Body-guard, to attend him con-

stantly. *Lucretius Offela*, who had reduced young *Marius* to the fatal Necessity of killing himself in *Præneste*, having put up for the Consulate, *Sylla* caused him to be murdered in the *Forum*. The great Severity with which he put the Laws in Execution, got him the Title of negative King.

Q. What other Transactions happened during *Sylla's* Dictatorship?

A. In the first Year of it, the War broke out again with *Mithridates*, which was occasioned by the Ambition of *Murena*, whom *Sylla* had left in *Asia*. That *Roman* thirsting after the Honours of a Triumph, found an Opportunity of coming to a Rupture with *Mithridates*, contrary to the Designs of the Senate. However, *Murena* was defeated, and *Mithridates* concluded a Peace with the *Romans*, which ended the second War with that Prince, after having lasted above two Years. *Sylla*, in the second Year of his Dictatorship, was again created Consul, but joined with *Cæcilius Metellus* in that Office; in which he was afterwards imitated by the Emperors.

Q. When did he abdicate the Dictatorship?

A. In the third Year of it, to the great Ann. Rom. 675. Surprise of the whole World. This *Roman* resigned that Office, and reduced himself to the Condition of a private Citizen, without fearing the Resentment of so many illustrious Families, the Chiefs of which he had put to Death by his bloody Proscriptions. On the contrary, he, as tho' he had been perfectly just and innocent, freely offered to give an Account of all his Proceedings. At the same Time he dismissed his Lictors, disbanded his Guards, and walked for some Time in the *Forum* with some of his Friends, in Presence of Thousands of the People, who, struck with Astonishment, considered this unlooked-for Change as a Prodigy. In the Evening he returned Home, unattended, and as a private Man; and though he had made himself such a Multitude of Enemies, not one Person dared to shew him the least Disrespect, a young Man excepted, who giving him scurrilous Language, *Sylla* replied in a kind of prophetic Strain, "That such an insolent Treatment would, for the future, keep any Man

" Man who should rise to so exalted a Pitch of Power, " from resigning it." Most of the *Romans* looked upon this Abdication, as the Result of the highest Magnanimity. They obliterated the Remembrance of his Proscriptions, and pardoned the many Murders he had caused to be committed, since he had now restored his Country to its Liberty. His Enemies, on the contrary, ascribed this great Change to the perpetual Fear he was under, lest some *Roman* should arise, generous enough to deprive him, at once, of Life and Empire. Be this as it will, *Sylla*, after shedding so much Blood, died peaceably in his Bed at *Puteoli*; but his Body was putrefied, and all turned into Lice. He had writ his own Epitaph a few Days before he expired, and it presents us with his true Character in these Words: " No man ever did more good Offices to his Friends, or was more cruel to his Enemies." His Abdication shewed that a Thirst of reigning was not his predominant Passion; and that the chief Motive of his seizing the sovereign Authority, was, that he might have the better Opportunity of satiating his Vengeance on his Enemies. The two Consuls, and their Factions, quarrelled about the Honours designed for him at his Funeral. At last, *Catulus* prevailing against his Colleague *Lepidus*, *Sylla's* Body was carried in mighty Pomp thro' *Rome*; and was the first which was burnt in this City, in order to prevent its being treated like that of *Marius*, whose Bones, by *Sylla's* Order, were dug up and thrown away.

Q. Did not greater Divisions arise after *Sylla's* Death?

A. *Sylla* was no sooner dead, but *Æmilius Lepidus*, the chief Consul, attempted, in Imitation of that renowned *Roman*, to seize upon the Government; but his Power was not equal to his Ambition. This *Lepidus* was not esteemed by the Armies; was rather an artful Politician than a good Soldier; a profound Dissembler, and owed his Rise to a Series of groveling Actions. Although he had declared for the Nobility, whose Party he thought the strongest; yet *Sylla* would never permit him to be Consul. But since that *Roman* had abdicated the Dictatorship, *Pompey*, who was most powerful in the Administration, being seduced by the pretended Attach-

ment of *Lepidus*, openly favoured his Election, and got him chosen Consul.

Q. In what manner did he conduct himself?

A. He went over to the Party of the *Plebeians*, in which he was opposed by *Catulus*, his Colleague, who, with *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and *Craffus*, headed that of the Nobles. To raise the Credit of the Commons, he proposed the abolishing Part of the Laws of *Sylla*, in which he was vigorously opposed by *Catulus*. The two Parties declared for one or other of the Consuls. *Lepidus*, to strengthen his, and to win over the Nations of *Italy* to his Interest, assured them, that he would re-incorporate them with the 35 ancient Tribes; and cause the Lands, of which they had been dispossessed by the Dictator, to be restored to them; which Declaration gained him a great Number of Friends. *Rome* was now going to be again the new Theatre of a Civil War; but the Senate interposed its Authority, and obliged the Consuls to take an Oath, not to take up Arms one against the other during their Consulship. However, *Lepidus*'s Year was no sooner expired, but he raised an Army in *Gallia Cisalpina*, which was his Province; and he reinforced himself with the Armies of *Brutus* and *Perpenna*. *Lepidus* then marched towards *Rome*, in the Hopes of becoming another *Sylla*, in case he should possess himself of that City. The Senate enrolling the Legions, gave the Command of them to *Catulus*; soon after which the Armies engaging, Part of that of *Lepidus* was cut to Pieces and the rest obliged to fly. This *Roman* retiring to *Sardinia*, was joined by *Perpenna*, and they afterwards increased their Army; but *Lepidus* being too strongly preyed upon by Grief, died the same Year with *Sylla*. As for *Brutus*, he was besieged in *Modena* by *Pompey*; and surrendering the City, was assassinated by his Order.

Q. What became of *Perpenna*?

A. Having 32,000 Men under his Command, he led them into *Spain*, where he intended to carry on the War in his own Name, and independent on any General, in Imitation of *Sertorius*, who had chosen 300 of his Friends, and given them the Name of Senate, in Opposition to that of *Rome*, and who still headed *Marius*'s Party in *Lusitania*.

Lusitania. The two great Provinces above-mentioned were governed by *Metellus*, to whose Assistance the Senate now sent *Pompey* with a fresh Body of Forces. *Perpenna's* Soldiers, on this News refused to obey their Commander; and flying to *Sertorius's* Army, this General saw himself at the Head of both, and *Perpenna* now became a subaltern Officer. The Junction of *Pompey* with *Metellus*, and of *Perpenna* with *Sertorius*, gave a new Vigour to the War. The last-mentioned, who was an experienced and enterprising Captain, had generally the Advantage, particularly against *Pompey*, who out of a strong Desire of distinguishing himself, and the Fear of dividing his Glory, had commonly fought separately from *Metellus*. *Pompey*, who had such great Reputation in *Rome*, had even the Grief to see the City of *Laurion*, which was invested by *Sertorius*, taken and burnt in his Presence. *Pompey*, exasperated to see a City razed to the Ground, for having declared in his Favour, sought every Opportunity to satiate his Vengeance. He imagined that one presented itself near *Sucro*; and though *Metellus's* Camp was not far off, he yet fancied himself strong enough to overthrow the Enemies without his Succour. Accordingly he attacked them in a Plain; but *Sertorius*, whose Spanish Cavalry was superior to that of the *Romans*, charged them so vigorously, that those *Italians* being broke, the Infantry were in the utmost Disorder and Confusion. *Pompey* narrowly escaped being taken Prisoner; *Ann. Rom.* 679. and his Army would have been entirely defeated, had not *Metellus* come to his Assistance. *Sertorius* seeing the Legions of that old General advance forward, withdrew to his Camp, and said, with a Smile, to his Officers. "Had not that old Dame (speaking of *Metellus*) rescued the young Boy, I would have given him due Correction, and then sent him back to *Rome*, to his Friends and Relations."

Q. What followed after this?

A. *Pompey*, being now less presumptuous than before, and taught Wisdom by Adversity, justly concluded, that it would be dangerous for him to lie at any Distance from

from *Metellus*. These Generals therefore joined their Forces, but notwithstanding the Superiority this gave them, they nevertheless were forced to encounter fresh Dangers wherever they encamped. The Enemy, who were extremely vigilant, came upon them oftentimes by Surprise, by Night as well as by Day; *Sertorius* displaying the utmost Experience and Activity on this Occasion. His Fame, and the News of the Advantages he gained daily over two Generals who had the greatest Reputation in *Rome*, reached as far as *Afia*. *Mithridates* had now levied a very powerful Army; when, in order to foment the Civil War, and to keep up a Diversions which might be of Advantage to his Designs, he proposed to *Sertorius* the uniting of their Interests. The Deputies of that Monarch offered to advance considerable Sums to defray the Expences of the War, and likewise a Fleet, upon Condition that he should let this Prince recover those Provinces in *Afia*, which he had been obliged to abandon. *Sertorius* having assembled his Council, they were unanimously of Opinion, that he ought not to refuse the Succours which were offered him; but this General, being animated with a Soul worthy of the *Roman* Name, protested that he would never consent to such a Treaty, as it would sully the Glory of his Country; nor would ever attempt a Victory which could not be gained by honourable Means. *Mithridates*'s Deputies having informed him of the Result of their Negotiation, that Prince spoke thus to his Courtiers: "What Laws would not that *Roman* prescribe, were he in *Rome*; since he has the Confidence to set Bounds to our Empire, from the Shores of the *Atlantic* Ocean where he is banished?" However, *Mithridates* reflecting afterwards, how much it was for his Interest to foment the Civil War, concluded a Treaty on the Terms prescribed by *Sertorius*; upon which that Prince furnished him with 300 Talents, and 40 Ships; and the *Roman* General gave the King of *Pontus* a Body of Troops under the Command of *Marius Varus*, a Senator whom *Sylla* had proscribed.

Q. What Actions were performed by *Marius Varus*?

A. He

A. He increased the Fame of *Sertorius* wherever he came ; and, as tho' he had been under the Command of the Senate and People of *Rome*, he freed most of the Cities from the exorbitant Taxes with which *Sylla* had burthened them. So prudent and moderate a Conduct made the Enemy open their Gates to him, without his being obliged to employ Arms ; and the bare Name of *Sertorius* gained more Victories than all the Forces of *Mithridates*. But this great Captain who had escaped all the Dangers of War, lost his Life by the Treachery of the *Romans* of his own Party. *Perpenna*, who could not pardon him for his enjoying the Command of his Troops, and, at the same Time, hoping to succeed to his Post, in case he could dispatch him, conspired his Ruin ; and prevailed with several of his Countrymen to join in his dark Design, upon Pretence that *Sertorius* contemned the *Romans*, and gave all his Confidence to the *Spaniards*. *Perpenna* inviting *Sertorius* to a Feast, first made him and his Companions very drunk, and then murdered him ; a very inglorious End, for so renowned a Commander, who had bravely, resisted all the Generals that had been sent against him, and been admired by the *Spaniards* as a second *Hannibal*. *Mettellus* and *Pompey* had been obliged to separate their Armies ; when the latter hearing first of *Sertorius*'s Death, and the Disposition of the Soldiers, drew near to *Perpenna*'s Camp. Immediately this new General was abandoned by Part of his Soldiers ; and the rest, when attacked made but a very feeble Resistance. At last they all fled, when *Perpenna*, not knowing where to hide himself, was found in a Thicket. *Perpenna* offered to reveal secretly to *Pompey* some Affairs of the highest Importance, upon Condition that his Life should be saved ; but *Pompey*, with great Wisdom, commanded him to be executed immediately, and burnt all his Papers, least his Impeachments should involve the State in fresh Troubles, which had been already but too fatal to it. *Perpenna*'s Death putting an End to the War of *Spain*, *Pompey* led his victorious Army back to *Italy*.

Q. Did not a third War break out against *Mithridates* ?

A. He

A. He had now joined himself with
Ann. Rom. 680. *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and levied
 an Army from various Nations, con-
 sisting of 140,000 Foot, and 16,000 Horse; and with
 these he soon conquered all *Bithynia*, which *Nicomedes*,
 the late Monarch, had bequeathed to the *Romans*. *Li-*
cinius Lucullus, a valiant Commander, and *Aurelius*
Cotta, being Consuls, were appointed to carry on the
 War against *Mitridates*. The former came up with
 the King before *Cizicus*, a City of *Propontis*, where he
 posted his Soldiers, with so much Skill, that he invested
 the Besieger; and reduced *Mitridates* to such Extre-
 mities, that he was forced, for Want of Provisions, to
 send his Cavalry and sick Men (15,000 of whom were
 intercepted) into *Bithynia*; and then to retire himself
 with all those who could escape the great Havock
 which the *Romans* made in the Flight. During this
 Interval, *Eumachus*, one of *Mitridates*'s Generals,
 made Incursions into several Countries, but was at last
 repulsed by *Deiotarus*. *Lucullus* gained many Victo-
 ries at Sea, where he took several of *Mitridates*'s
 Commanders, and closely pursued the King himself,
 who would have been cast away, had he not been
 saved by a Pirate Vessel, where he was very glad to
 venture his Person, to secure himself from so immin-
 ent a Danger. At last he escaped into his own
 Kingdom, whither *Lucullus* pursued him, having con-
 quered all *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia* in his March.
 Such was the End of the first Year's Expedition.

Q. Did *Mitridates* perform any Exploits the second
 Year?

A. He sent to *Tigranes*, and other Powers, for Sue-
 cour; and, in a Year's Time, assembled 40,000 Foot,
 and 4000 Horse. With these he gained some Advan-
 tages over the *Romans*; but *Lucullus* found Means to
 cut off the greatest Part of his Cavalry, which, with the
 Loss of a Battle, filled him with so much Dread, that he
 left his Kingdom, and fled into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who
 entertained him in a Manner suitable to his Dignity, but
 would not suffer him to come into his Presence. All
Pontus, a few Strong-holds excepted, soon yielded to
Lucullus;

Lucullus; and *Machares*, King of *Bosporus*, sent a golden Diadem to that Commander, whereby he purchased the Title of his Friend and Ally. This was the fourth Year of the Expedition, at which Time was ended the War with *Spartacus*.

Q. Who was he?

A. A Gladiator of very great Bravery. This Man having escaped from *Ann. Rom. 680.* *Capua*, with 70 of his Companions, exhorted them to sacrifice their Lives for the Defence of their Liberty, rather than to serve as a Spectacle to the Inhumanity of their Patrons: Then wandering through the Countries round, and increasing their Numbers prodigiously, they commenced a dangerous War in *Italy*. The Senate despising *Spartacus*, sent, at first, but a few Troops, headed by two *Prætors*, against him; thinking it would be derogatory to the Dignity of the Commonwealth, to oppose the Legions to a Herd of Slaves and Vagabonds. But *Spartacus* cut to Pieces all the Troops that had been sent against him, which surprised and exasperated the Senate to a great Degree. The Affair growing now more serious, the Consuls, each at the Head of a considerable Army, were ordered to take the Field against them. *Ann. Rom. 681.* These Magistrates persuading themselves that a Body of Slaves and Vagabonds would not dare to withstand the Presence of the Legions, marched very carelessly towards the Enemy. But *Spartacus*, taking Advantage of this Negligence, made so skilful a Choice of the Field of Battle, and led on his Men with so much Bravery, that the *Roman* Soldiers were put to Flight. The Consuls rallied them some Time after, and came to a second Engagement, but with as little Success as before.

Q. Was not *Spartacus*'s Army very much increased by this Overthrow of the Legions?

A. He soon after saw himself at the Head of 120,000 Peasants, Outlaws, Slaves, and Deserters, all Men of a savage Disposition, who carried Fire and Sword wherever they came, and hoped to meet with an Impunity for their Crimes. This domestic War had raged three Years in *Italy*, when *Ann. Rom. 682.*

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the Senate gave the Conduct of it to *Licinius Crassus*, the Proconsul in *Apulia*, who had shared in *Sylla's* Victories. Fortune assumed a new Face under this General. *Crassus* began by restoring the Troops to their former Discipline ; and the *Romans*, under his Command soon found that they must either conquer or die. The Proconsul, after cutting to Pieces 10,000 of the Rebels who were foraging, defeated *Spartacus's* Army in a pitched Battle. This Gladiator, with such of his Troops as had escaped the Slaughter, attempted to cross into *Sicily* ; but was invested in his own Camp by *Crassus*. *Spartacus* finding it would be impossible for him to escape, resolved to try once more the Fate of Arms. Accordingly he drew up his Forces very skilfully in order of Battle. A Horse being brought him, just as the Engagement was going to begin, he drew his Sword, killed it, and then turning about to his Soldiers ; " If I am victorious, (says he) " I shall not want a Horse ; and should we be defeated, " I do not intend to make use of one." His Soldiers, animated by his Example, fought like Desperadoes. Victory was long in Suspence, but at last the Valour of the Legions decided it. A cruel Slaughter was made of these Vagabonds. *Spartacus* being wounded in the Thigh by a Javelin, defended himself vigorously on his Knees, holding his Shield with one Hand, and his Sword with the other ; but being at last covered with Wounds, he fell on a Heap either of *Romans* whom he had sacrificed to his Fury, or of his own Soldiers, who had lost their Lives in defending him. Such as escaped, rallied afterwards, and were all slaughtered by *Pompey*, who met them in his Return from *Spain*. A Lustrum being performed in *Rome* about this Time, 450,000 Free Citizens were cessed ; the City still increasing in Extent, in Populousness, in Learning and Politeness, and at the same Time in Corruptions and Factions.

Q. I desire you to go on with the War of *Mitridates* ?

A. *Lucullus* followed him into *Armenia*, and sent to *Tigranes*, the King of that Country, to deliver him up. This Monarch was grown so insupportably proud by his late Conquests, that he obliged four Kings, whom he had taken Prisoners, to run by his Side like so many

Foot-

Footmen ; and when he was seated on his Throne, made them stand before him, in a dejected Posture, with folded Arms. *Tigranes* refused to deliver up *Mithridates*, and would not recognize *Lucullus* as General, because he had not given him the Title of King of Kings. Upon this *Lucullus* immediately crossed the River *Euphrates*, at the Head of two Legions, and about 3000 Horse, which surprised *Tigranes*, who soon after sent *Mithrobarzanes* at the Head of 2000 Cavalry, to intercept his Passage ; leaving *Mancæus* to cover the City *Tigranocerta*, which he had lately built, and went himself to raise an Army. Whilst he was assembling one, consisting of 250,000 Infantry, and 50,000 Horse, against the *Romans*, *Mithrobarzanes* was repulsed, *Mancæus* drove from the City and the Town immediately invested. *Mithridates* advised *Tigranes* not to venture a Battle, but rather to starve the Enemy ; but he contemned his Counsel, saying, " If the *Romans* are all Ambassadors, " there are a Multitude of them ; but if Soldiers, a few." However, *Lucullus* engaging him to great Advantage, a dreadful Slaughter was made during the whole Day ; and *Tigranocerta* was surrendered by Means of certain discontented Greeks in it.

Q. What happened after this ?

A. Another mighty Army was raised, and the Command of it given to *Mithridates*. Both Monarchs endeavoured, but in vain, to hem in *Lucullus* ; and all Parties being obliged to remove for want of Provisions, *Fabius*, whom *Lucullus* had left in *Pontus*, was afterwards defeated by *Mithridates*. This Monarch marching into the *Lesser Armenia*, *Lucullus* would willingly have followed him thither ; and this General might have put an End to the War, had not *Acilius Glabrio*, this Year's Consul, being appointed to carry it on in his stead. When the News of this was come to the *Roman* Army, *Lucullus* was slighted by his Soldiers, whereby the two Monarchs began to be more successful than before. *Glabrio* arrived not long after in this Province, and sent circular Letters, declaring, " That the Senate being displeased with *Lucullus*, for prolonging the War, had removed him from the Command of the Army ; and would confiscate the

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" Possessions of any Person who should refuse Obedience to this Order." Upon this, *Lucullus* was deserted by his whole Army, a few Soldiers excepted, who had no Estates to lose ; after which *Mithridates* recovered the greatest Part of his Kingdom, and made great Havock in *Cappadocia* ; *Glabrio* continuing idle in *Bithynia*, and never once coming to his Army.

Q. Did not a Quarrel break out between *Pompey* and *Crassus* ?

A. It arose from *Pompey's* ascribing to himself the chief Success of the War against *Spartacus*, at which *Crassus* was justly offended ; but then he dissembled his Resentment, because he aspired to the Consulate at the same Time with *Pompey* who was all-powerful in *Rome*. *Crassus* afterwards intreating *Pompey* that they might act in Concert ; the latter employed all his Credit and Interest for him, by which Means both were elected Consuls. Though *Pompey* was then but a Knight, and scarce 34 Years of Age, yet his exalted Reputation, and the Splendor of his Victories, made the *Romans* dispense with the Laws in his Favour. But now the two Consuls, not satisfied with the Honours which had been done them, demanded likewise that of a Triumph. This surprised the People very much ; and being a very delicate Affair, both were desired to disband their respective Armies. *Crassus* insisted that his Colleague should first set him the Example, at which *Pompey* was greatly offended ; which opposite Pretensions discovered but too plainly their Animosity. *Pompey* could not bear to see *Crassus*, who was so much his Inferior in military Abilities, enter into Competition with him : And *Crassus*, who was the richest Man in the Commonwealth, looked upon his Treasures as so many Victories, and could not think of submitting to a Man, who was not so wealthy as himself. The Senate and People now saw evidently, that the only Design of each of these *Romans*, in endeavouring to keep their Armies on foot, was, to trample on the other ; and fearing another intestine War would break out, the People fell at their Feet, and earnestly besought them to lay aside their Animosity. At last *Crassus* (moved by

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the *Auspices*) rising up, went and gave his Hand to *Pompey*, who then embraced him; so after both had received the Honours of a Triumph, they disbanded their respective Armies.

Q. Was this Reconciliation sincere?

A. One would have concluded it was not so, since each of them employed their whole Endeavours to gain Partisans. The grand Article was, to insinuate themselves into the Affections of the People. *Crassus*, to win them over to his Interest, caused a thousand Tables to be spread, and entertained the whole City. At the same Time he distributed among the lower Sort of People, Corn sufficient to subsist them three Months. *Crassus* was worth above 7000 Talents, which was an immense Sum; and by such public Liberalities the great Men in *Rome* purchased the Votes of the Multitude. *Pompey*, on the other Side, to improve on this Munificence, and to ingratiate himself with the Tribunes of the People, caused the Laws to pass, which restored to those Magistrates all the Authority of which *Sylla* had deprived them. Thus these ambitious Men sported alternately with the Laws; and increased the Power of the Senate one Moment, and the next that of the People, according as it suited their Interest. Words could never express the Joy which the Tribunes discovered upon seeing themselves restored to their Authority; and being obliged chiefly to *Pompey* for it, they soon found an Opportunity of discovering their Gratitude; for War being resolved against the Pirates, they gave the Command of it to that General, who, at the same Time, was invested with absolute Authority.

Q. Who were these Pirates?

A. They first rendezvoused on the Coasts of *Cilicia*, and had but a small Number of Vessels; when *Mithridates* taking them under his Protection, they put to Sea with a considerable Number of large Ships, and extended their Depredations as far as the Coasts of *Italy*. They were now grown so numerous and powerful, that there was no passing the Seas, nor dwelling on the Coasts with any Security; for they not only took and plundered Ships, but laid waste whole Provinces.

Ann. Rom. 685.

vinces. They also had vanquished several *Roman* Prætors, and were grown so insolent, that they made Descents even upon *Italy*; carried off several Ladies of Quality, and two Armies with their Ensigns. These Outrages exasperated the *Romans* to a high Degree; upon which *Pompey*, as was before observed, was created Admiral, and invested with full Power by the Tribunes; a Circumstance which did not please the Senate, who now began to grow jealous of *Pompey's* Credit and Authority. However, the People allowed him 500 Ships, 120,000 Foot, 5000 Horse, 6000 Attick Talents; and the Power of chusing 15 Lieutenants out of the Senate. But now several of this Body accused *Pompey*, publicly, of aspiring to sovereign Power; and one of the Consuls, who was exasperated against him, said to his Face, "That since he affected to imitate the Pride and Haughtiness of *Romulus*, he possibly might meet with the same Fate." Several Senators harangued the People, to dissuade them from giving so extensive a Power to a single Citizen; but all their Remonstrances were ineffectual; and the People were so much enraged at the Jealousy and Resistance of the Senate, that they enlarged still more the Power of *Pompey*. In this Manner the Commons, who were so jealous of their Liberty, being seduced by the Tribunes, were running headlong into Servitude; and *Pompey* might, if he had pleased, have usurped the supreme Power in the Commonwealth. But those who were well acquainted with his Disposition, concluded, that they had nothing to fear from a Man who had more Vanity than Ambition; and who was more affected with the Splendor of this exalted Employment, than desirous of rendering it perpetual and independent.

Q. What was the Success of this War?

A. *Pompey* stationed, with very great Judgment, his Lieutenants in the several Bays, Harbours, and Straits of the *Mediterranean*; furnishing them with sufficient Number of Ships, that so the Pirates being forced out of their lurking Holes by one Part of his Forces, might be received by another, and chased by the next, and none be obliged to sail at too great a Distance; whilst himself,

himself, as though he had been Monarch of the Ocean, sailed up and down it; visiting and directing all Things with such Judgment and Dispatch, that in less than six Weeks he scour'd all the Seas about *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, *Sicily*, and *Africu*; and all the Pirates, who escaped, fled to *Cilicia* as their common Rendezvous. Pompey was soon after them with threescore Gallies; and tho' they had prepared for Battle, yet at the Sight of his Fleet, they submitted to him; and his Name was become so formidable to them, that in about six Weeks more he subjected *Cilicia* to the Power of the *Romans*. As there remained still upwards of 20,000 Pirates, he was not willing to massacre them; and, at the same Time, it was not safe to let them return to their old Receptacles. He therefore removed them into the Inland Countries, where he gave them Lands and Houses; and by furnishing them with an Opportunity of subsisting without Piracy, he prevented their continuing that way of Life. In this Manner, after taking near 400 Ships, and 120 Forts, and slaying 10,000 Men, Pompey ended this War in one Campaign; he behaving with greater Clemency towards the Vanquished, than *Metellus* did towards the *Cretans*, whom he subdued, and was thence surnamed *Creticus*; besides which, the Honours of a Triumph were allowed him.

Q. What followed after this?

A. The People of *Rome* had no sooner heard of the Defeat of the Pirates, but *Manilius*, a Tribune of the People, and Pompey's Creature, in order to perpetuate his Authority, proposed a Law, " That all the Armies of the *Romans*, together with the Command of all Asia, and the Conduct of the War against *Mithridates* and *Trigranes*, should be committed to Pompey alone;" notwithstanding *Lucullus*, a great General, was at that Time invested with the latter Command, and had acquired no little Glory in this War. Pompey was likewise continued in his Post of Admiral. This was surrendering up to him the Forces both by Sea and Land, and he now wanted nothing but the Title of King. The People were very zealous to have this Law passed; but the Senate, who were not so blind, looked upon it as the establishing of Tyranny. Nevertheless,

theless, when the Assembly was met, and *Manilius* proposed the recalling of *Lucullus*, and appointing *Pompey* in his room, scarce a Man opened his Mouth; most of the Senators being intimidated by *Pompey's* Power. Even *Cicero* himself, who was known to be a worthy Citizen, but fearful and wavering, declared, for the prevailing Party; and said, in an Oration, " That it not only
 " would be for the Interest of the Commonwealth, to
 " have a General invested with so large a Power; but
 " that it was absolutely necessary to make Choice of
 " *Pompey*, preferable to any other Man in the Universe,
 " he being eminently conspicuous for the four great
 " Accomplishments required in a Commander, viz.
 " Judgment, Bravery, Authority, and Success; all
 " which he had gloriously displayed in the many won-
 " derful Exploits already performed by him in so
 " many different Countries." It is related that *C. Julius Cæsar*, lately Quæstor, also favoured this Speech, and chiefly in this View, that the People might afterwards be the more inclined to trust him with the like extraordinary Authority. None of the Senators opposed it, but *Hortensius* and *Catulus*. The latter bravely reproached the People with their unjust Treatment of *Lucullus*; and, at the same Time, represented to them the glorious Actions he had performed during the Course of the War. He observed, that this General, by a signal Victory, had prevented the City of *Cisicus* from being besieged both by Sea and Land; that he had defeated *Mithridates* several Times, and vanquished *Tigranes*, the most powerful Monarch of *Asia*. However perceiving that the People were not pleased with his Speech, he turned himself to the Senate, and raising his Voice with an Air of Indignation, " Let us leave, says
 " he, (Fathers) a City which is now going to be sub-
 " jeft to Tyrants; and let us fly to some Desert, where
 " we may preserve the Liberty, which we have receiv-
 " ed from our Forefathers." But these generous Words did not make the least Impression upon the Minds of the People. The Decree was confirmed by all the Tribes; and the People gave spontaneously to *Pompey* as unlimited an Authority, as *Sylla* had usurped Sword-in-hand, and during his Dictatorship.

Q. What

Q. What did Pompey upon his being appointed Generalissimo?

A. Having made the necessary Preparations, he set out immediately for *Asia*. He first sent to *Mithridates*, offering him Peace upon reasonable Conditions, which that King nevertheless refused, he expecting Succours from *Pherætes* King of *Parthia*; but having Advice afterwards that he had concluded a League with the *Romans*, he sent to sue for Peace. Pompey ordered him to disband his forces, and surrender up all the Deserters, which occasioned such a Tumult in *Mithridates's* Army, that he immediately receded and evaded the Articles by swearing, "That he would be eternally at Variance with the *Romans*, because of their insatiable Avarice." Pompey marched afterwards into *Galatia*, where he had an Interview with *Lucullus*. They at first treated each other with great Politeness and Civility; but at last *Lucullus* was not able to stifle his Resentment. He told Pompey, "That he never sought to go against any Enemies but those who were already enfeebled; and that, like to such cowardly Birds as seize only on dead Carcasses, it was his Custom to intrude himself at the Conclusion of a War, and to reap the Benefit of the Victories which other Generals had gained." Pompey, exasperated at these Reproaches, told *Lucullus*, "That he had not so much conquered, as laid waste *Asia*, the Riches of which he had appropriated to himself. That he had made War only for the Sake of Plunder, and like a Robber; that he indeed had gained some Victories, but had never compleated his, purposely that he might be continued in his Command, and have an Opportunity of carrying on his Rapine, which was even odious to his Soldiers." These mutual Reproaches were not without Foundation; and the two Generals, at their leaving one another, were fired with the strongest Animosity. *Lucullus* continued to give out Orders in his own Name; but Pompey forbidding them by his Edicts, annulled all his Acts, and at last drew away most Part of his Army. *Lucullus* returned to *Rome*, where, in spite of the Cabals and ill Offices of Pompey, he was honoured

honoured with a Triumph; he bringing with him, among other noble Spoils, a great Number of valuable Books, of which he composed a Library. His Triumph was very splendid; there being exhibited, among other Things, a Statue of *Mithridates* of solid Gold, six Feet high; and his Shield enriched with a great Number of precious Stones. After his Triumph, he resolved to pass the Remainder of his Days in Luxury and Effemiancy. He laid out prodigious Sums in Building, Furniture, and Entertainments, whence *Pompey* used to call him the *Roman Xerxes*. *Lucullus* greatly increased the Luxury of the *Romans*. He lost his Senses some Time before his Death, and was therefore put under the Guardianship of his Brother. It is related that *Callisthenes*, his Freedman, had given him a Dose of Poison, and that this made him run distracted.

Q. What was *Mithridates* doing?

A. He had assembled a very considerable Army; and *Pompey* marching into the *Lesser Armenia*, subject to that King, was followed thither. There *Pompey* surrounded *Mithridates* with a very large Intrenchment; and having Advice that *Marcus* had joined the *Roman General*, he fled, after killing all about him who were sick, or of no Service. However, *Pompey* followed so close at his Heels, that he forced him to come to an Engagement, by Moon-light, before he could pass the *Euphrates*. *Mithridates* lost several thousand Men, and at last broke his Way through at the Head of a Party of Horsemen, many of whom afterwards deserted him. After this, wandering thro' the Woods, he himself leading his Horse, he casually met with a Body of mercenary Forces, who conducted him to a Fortress, where he had deposited considerable Treasures. He dispatched from thence a Messenger to *Tigranes*, who now refused to receive him, upon Pretence that he had been the Occasion of his Son's rebelling against him. *Mithridates* finding himself thus abandoned, fled to *Colchis* whither *Pompey* followed him. He then fled to *Scythia*, where he forced the Princes of that Country to join with him, he giving his Daughters in Marriage to some of them. He was still revolving mighty Designs, even of piercing thro'

thro' *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Pannonia*, and to the *Alps*, and from thence into *Italy*. *Pompey*, after a short Stay in *Colebis*, marched towards *Armenia*, against *Tigranes*, who was now resolved not to come to a Battle, because of the Rebellion of his three Sons whom the Daughter of *Mithridates* had brought him. The last of these three Sons was also called *Tigranes*. The two eldest being dead, the third rebelled against his Father, and raised great Commotions in his Dominions, but was overthrown and obliged to fly. He withdrew to *Phraates* King of the *Parthians*, who advised him to have Recourse to *Ptolemy* for Protection, which he accordingly did. The Father having Notice of this, went at the same time and threw himself at the *Roman General's* Feet, gave him his Diadem, sued for Peace; and conjured him to let Justice be done on his Son for his base Ingratitude. *Pompey* returned the Monarch his Crown, and granted him Peace upon the following Conditions; "That he should pardon his Son; "that *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cilicia* should remain as "Provinces of the *Roman Empire*; that he should pay "6000 Talents of Silver to the *Romans*; that Prince "Tigranes, his Son, should possess the Provinces of "Sophe and Gordiena, the Treasures excepted which "should be found in them; that he would permit him "to retire before his Son entered them; and lastly, that "he should possess peaceably the rest of *Armenia*, and "be esteemed the Friend and Ally of the *Romans*." *Tigranes* accepted of the Conditions with Joy; but his Son was disgusted at his not being allowed to dispose of the Treasures that were in the Provinces allotted for him. He therefore stirred up the *Parthians* to declare War against the *Romans*; but as he was meditating to join them, *Pompey*, who watched all his Motions, having discovered his Design, caused him to be seized some time after, and sent him to *Rome*; where, by Order of the Senate, he was thrown into Prison, and there died. *Pompey* restored *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and likewise gave him *Gordiena* and *Sophe*, with *Cabala*, a City of *Cilicia*, and other Towns; after which he forced the *Iberians* and *Albanians* to sue for Peace.

Q. What other Conquests were atchieved by Pompey?

A. Crossing Mount Taurus, he directed his March against Darius the Mede, and Antiochus King of Syria, for molesting the Roman Allies, or succouring their Enemies. Upon this Phraates, King of Partibia, terrified at the Fame of his mighty Achievements, sent to sue for Peace, which Pompey would not grant. Phraates, upon this, invading Armenia, Tigranes sent to Pompey for Succour, who deputed three Commissioners, in order to reconcile Matters. With regard to Antiochus, to whom Lucullus had granted Syria, he first designed to implore the Aid of Phraates; but after considering Things more maturely, he resolved to submit himself to Pompey's Generosity. But the Roman General having seized upon all his Dominions, refused to acquiesce with his Demands. And the better to excuse himself, he observed, " That since the subduing of Tigranes had put the Romans to so much Expence and Trouble, it would not be reasonable to let another have the Recompence." Pompey therefore allowed him but that Part of Syria called Comagena; and not long after, extended his Conquests over the Arabians and Itureans, (People who inhabited a small Country of Palestine, at the Foot of Mount Libanus) he made all Syria a Roman Province. During this Interval, Mithridates sent to Pompey to desire Peace; but being ordered to come in Person, the Monarch refused, and proceeded in his military Preparations. After this, many of his Garrisons revolted from him; and several of his Friends, with one of his Sons, were put to Death on that Account. Still the King of Pontus intended to cross into Europe, to advance into Italy, and there make the same Havock as Hannibal had done. But his Soldiers, terrified at the Enterprize, refused to follow; they looking upon him as a desperate Prince, who rather than live in Obscurity, sought to die with Glory. These mighty designs he projected, served Pharnaces his Son for a Pretence to spirit up the Army to Rebellion, who thereupon saluted him King. Mithridates, perceiving this from an upper Room where he was confined,

fined, sent a Messenger, desiring that Leave might be given him to depart. But his Son only bid him *die*; which exasperating *Mitbridates*, he, with many terrible Imprecations, wished, "That he might one Day hear the like Words from his own Offspring." And now reflecting that this Son, whom he had tenderly loved, and intended for his Successor, was the very Person who sought his Destruction; he, rather than fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, resolved to put an End to his Life, which was now grown insupportable. Accordingly, after giving Poison to his Wives, his Daughters, and Concubines, he swallowed a Dose himself. But having accustomed himself to the taking of Antidotes, it had no effect, upon which he besought one of his Officers to dispatch him. This Officer at first refused; but recollecting that he would thereby please *Pompey* and *Pharnaces*, he ran him through the Body; and some Historians relate, that *Mitbridates* himself aided the deadly Stroke. Thus ended the *Mitbridatic War*, having *Ann. Rom. 691.* continued 25 Years; after which all the Dominions of this Monarch were added to the *Roman State*.

Q. Where was *Pompey* at that Time?

A. Near *Jericho*, and marching towards *Jerusalem* against *Aristobulus* King of *Judæa*, who had deposed his elder Brother, *Hyrcanus*, and usurped his Kingdom. They were Sons to *Alexander* King of the *Jews*, who, at his Death, had not settled the Succession. *Hyrcanus* the elder Brother, claimed the Crown as his Right; whilst *Aristobulus*, on the other Side asserted that he was unworthy of enjoying it, since he did not possess any of the Qualities requisite in a King. *Hyrcanus* complained of his Brother to *Pompey* at *Damascus*, who also came to that City to vindicate himself, where the *Roman General* gave them the kindest Treatment, and assured them, "That he would come into their Country, and adjust Matters between them, so soon as he had settled some Affairs of Importance." Accordingly, after concluding the Affair relating to *Syria*, he returned to *Judæa*, there to decide the Difference between the two Brothers. *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus* sent

him severally, Ambassadors with considerable Presents, upon which Pompey did all that lay in his Power to reconcile them, and marched against the *Nabathœans*. However he was soon obliged to return towards *Jerusalem*, because that, immediately after his Departure, *Aristobulus* had again taken up Arms against his Brother; and fortified himself in the Castle of *Alexandrium*, the strongest in all *Judæa*. Pompey ordered this Prince to come to him, which he did; and the *Roman* General bid him write Letters to all the Governors of the Strong-holds in *Judæa*, to exhort them to submit to the *Romans*. *Aristobulus* wrote accordingly, but none of the Governors would comply with the Orders; upon which Pompey suspecting that some clandestine Measures were concerting, marched directly towards *Jerusalem*. *Gabinius*, his Lieutenant had already taken the City; the Temple only, which was very strongly situated, being still vigorously defended by *Aristobulus's* Adherents, who had retired thither. Pompey invested it the Day after his Arrival; and after three Months Siege, won it on a Sabbath-Day, and that with the greater Ease, because the *Jews* did not use to take up Arms in their own Defence on this Day. Pompey went into the Temple at the Time that the Sacrifices were performing, and cut to Pieces 12,000 *Jews*. He, with many Followers, entered the *Holy of Holies*, where he viewed those Things which none but the Priests were allowed to behold: However, he had so much Veneration for the Place, that he forbore touching any Thing. He afterwards made all *Judæa* tributary to *Rome*; restored *Hyrcanus* to his Priesthood and Government, and afterwards carried *Aristobulus* with him to *Rome*.

Judæa was reduced under the Consul-
Ann. Rom. 691. ship of *Cicero*, the same Year that
Augustus Cæsar was born.

Q. What happened in *Rome* during these mighty Exploits?

A. One of the most dangerous Conspiracies broke out, that had ever been known in this City, being chiefly contrived and carried on by *Lucius Sergius Catilina*. He was descended from a very illustrious *Patrician* Family of great Antiquity. Brought up amid the

the Tumult and Disorders of a Civil War, he had been the Instrument of the Cruelties of *Sylla*, to whom he had devoted himself. The Protection of this Dictator, and the Birth and high Extraction of *Catiline*, had raised him to the principal Employments, all which he had disgraced by his horrid Crimes. He had been accused of debauching a Vestal Virgin ; and suspected of murdering his Son, for the Love of another Woman. He had no Morals or Probity, nor discovered the least Veneration for the Gods. For ever disgusted with the Present, and uneasy with regard to Futurity ; he was bold, rash, and capable of any Attempt ; but at the same time had little Ability ; he displaying too much his ambitious Views, and being unable to assume that deep Disguise, which was so necessary to cover his pernicious Designs. Having contracted vast Debts, he grew desperate, and aimed at nothing less than the supreme Authority, and in order to attain it, he began by associating with all such young Men in *Rome*, as had ruined themselves by Wine, Women, or Gaming.

Q. Who were the chief Conspirators, and what was their Design ?

A. Their Names were *Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius*, *Cassius Longinus*, *Caius Cetbegus*, the two Sons of *Servius Sylla*, *Lucius Vargunteius*, *Quintus Annus*, *Portius Lecca*, *Lucius Curius*, *L. Bestia*, *Q. Curius*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*. Many pretend that *Crassus*, and even *Cæsar*, had some Knowledge of this Conspiracy, which had been originally set on Foot by *P. Autronius* and *P. Sylla*, who having been elected to the Consulate, and afterwards convicted of attaining to that Office by Bribery, were therefore excluded from it ; which exasperated them to such a Degree, that they conspired the Ruin of their Country, and engaged *Catiline* and *Piso*, a young Debauchee of an illustrious Family into their Plot, which was to murder the Consuls, and to put to Death the greatest Part of the Senators. This Horrid Conspiracy was to have broken out on the first of *January* on which Day the Consuls used to enter upon their Office. But the Opportunity not being favourable, they

they suspended the Execution of it till the Fifth of February. That Day was to give Birth to the most horrid Attempt that had happened in the Commonwealth ever since the Foundation of *Rome*: A Band of wicked Wretches were, at the Signal given by *Catiline*, to rush upon the Consul and Senators, and murder them. But *Catiline*, impatient to shed the Blood of his Fellow Citizens, having given the Signal sooner than he ought to have done, and before the Conspirators were got to the several Posts assigned them, not a Man moved; and this bloody Enterprize was again put off. *Catiline*, by his Boldness, made himself the Head of it; and joined to his Party a great Number of Senators and Knights who all, from different Motives, engaged in this black Design.

Q. What was the Genius and Character of *Lentulus* and *Cetbegus*?

A. The former led a most dissolute Life; was naturally bold, and gloried in his Vices. His Debauchery, the Impunity with Regard to Crimes, and even Ambition, had prompted him to engage in this Conspiracy, to which he had been moved by certain Predictions ascribed to the *Sibyls*, which (as it was said) promised the Sovereignty of *Rome* to three of the *Cornelii*, into which Family he had been adopted; *Cinna* and *Sylla*, who were both of this illustrious House, although in opposite Parties, having enjoyed successively the supreme Authority; and *Lentulus* was pleased to hear his Flatterers apply the *Sibylline* Oracles to him; and to be looked upon as the Third of the same Name who was to reign in *Rome*. As to *Cetbegus*, he was bold, enterprizing, and had made himself formidable by the Ascendant he had gained over the Minds of the Populace. He had before been Tribune of the People, whom he governed at Pleasure; but he himself was governed by a Courtezan called *Præcia*, who, during his Tribuneship, directed arbitrarily the whole Administration. Besides the Senators already mentioned, a great Number of Knights had engaged in the Plot. *Catiline* also drew into it many Veteran Soldiers and old Officers that had fought under *Sylla*; and who, after squandering away the Sums they had gained

gained by their Swords, on loose Women and in Gaming, wished for a new Civil War, as the only Way left them to retrieve their ruined Fortunes.

Q. Were not many Women drawn into this Conspiracy?

A. Several, of the greatest Families in *Rome*, who were as remarkable for their Licentiousness as their Beauty, engaged in it out of Coinplaisance to their Lovers. The famous *Sempronia* was one. "This Woman, says an excellent Writer, was as bold as the most audacious Men, as she had shewn on several Occasions. *Sempronia* was beautiful; of exalted Birth, and was advantageously married, and had several handsome Children. She was a perfect Mistress of both the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues; she could sing and dance to better Advantage than becomes a virtuous Woman; and was not wanting in any of those Charms which are capable of lighting up a Passion. The only Use she made of them, was, to pass away all her Days in riotous Excesses. A good or bad Reputation were equally indifferent to her; and it was difficult to say which she neglected most, her Fortune or her Honour. Several perfidious Actions committed by this Woman had made her infamous: She did not scruple to deny either a Trust or a Debt, and was accused of having been an Accomplice in more than one Murder; so apt is Vice, joined to Poverty, to plunge the Mind into Crimes of the blackest Die. It yet must be confessed, that her Genius was of an agreeable Cast. She was very happy in her Repartees; had a pretty Talent for Poetry, and a most engaging Flow of Words. And, assuming in her Discourse, either Modesty, Tenderness, or Gaiety, she possessed all the Vivacity, all the Graces, that are capable of pleasing in Conversation." Several Women, as nobly descended and as dissolute as *Sempronia*, but older and less amiable, entered into this Plot, in the Hopes of thereby getting an Opportunity to discharge the large Debts they had contracted in an advanced Age, to support their profuse, juvenile Gallants. In a Word, all

all the young People in *Rome* who had been brought up in a luxurious Way of Life, and were enervated by Pleasures ; such as had ruined themselves, and were no longer able to support their riotous Course of Life ; the Ambitious, who aspired to the highest Posts of the State ; and others, who were unable, of themselves, to wreak their Vengeance on their too powerful Enemies ; all these fired by different Passions, devoted themselves to *Catiline*, who made them the most splendid Promises, and at the same Time, exhorted them to employ their utmost Endeavours to get him elected Consul. The Juncture could not possibly have been more favourable to the Conspirators ; *Pompey* being at that Time engaged in War in the East, and *Italy* unprovided with an Army.

Q. What did *Catiline*, when he had assembled the Conspirators in his House ?

A. It was reported (but whether for a Certainty is not known) in the City, that, in order to unite them the more strongly together, he had caused them all to drink out of a Cup filled with human Blood and Wine ; and that, after obliging them to take an Oath, he revealed his Design to them ; making, at the same Time, the following Speech : " Was I not sensible that you are fired with the most intrepid Bravery, and sincerely attached to my Interest, I would not observe to you, that we have the most favourable Opportunity that could have presented itself to make ourselves happy. But having tried your Courage on so many important Occasions, and knowing that you are adorned with too noble a Soul to desert me, I have dared to project a great and glorious Enterprize. I was the more strongly prompted to it, from the Similitude I observed there was in our Sentiments ; a Circumstance that best contributes to make Friendships lasting. You all know my Design. The Desire of accomplishing it increases daily in me, when I consider the wretched Condition to which we shall be reduced in case we do not set ourselves at Liberty. Some particular Men are become the Tyrants over the Republic ; and to them only, Kings, Princes, and Nations pay Tribute. All the rest of the *Romans*, of what

" what Rank or Degree soever, whatever Merit or
 " Virtue they may possess, live for ever blended and
 " confounded in the Crowd, without the least Author-
 " ity or Employments. We are their Slaves, whereas,
 " were the Republic itself not enslaved, they would be
 " forced either to respect or fear us. Authority, Power,
 " Employments, Riches, are wholly engrossed by them
 " or their Creatures. All that falls to our Share is,
 " a Deprivation of Dignities, the Ignominy of Con-
 " demnations, and the Miseries of Want. How long
 " (my brave Companions) shall we submit to these
 " Indignities? Were it not better to die, by making
 " one noble Effort, than to meet with an ignominious
 " Death, after having served as a Sport to these
 " Barbarians? 'Tis entirely in our Power (just Deities)
 " to free ourselves from these numerous Evils; it is en-
 " tirely in our Power to triumph. We are endued
 " with Courage and Abilities, and our Enemies have
 " neither. Their Bodies stoop with the Weight of
 " Years, and their Minds are enervated by Riches.
 " We need only but attempt. Things will afterwards
 " go on of themselves, and we shall complete them
 " without the least Difficulty. Is there a Man in the
 " World (if he be really a Man) can bear to let them
 " possess more Treasures than would enable them to
 " cover the Sea with their Edifices, and to change the
 " Mountains into Palaces, at a Time that we stand in
 " Need of the Necessaries of Life? These shall build
 " two Houses at one and the same Time; whilst un-
 " happy we have not a Hole to shelter ourselves in.
 " They purchase the most costly Productions of the
 " greatest Painters and Sculptors. After having raised
 " Edifices, they are pulled down, only to be built up
 " again. In a Word, they squander and riot away by
 " every Method that can possibly be thought on;
 " whilst we have Poverty within Doors, and Creditors
 " without. The present Time exhibits the most gloo-
 " my Prospect, and Futurity threatens us with still
 " greater Evils; and we have nothing left but Life,
 " oppressed with a Variety of Calamities. Awake,
 " therefore; open your Eyes; here is the Liberty you
 " have so long panted after; here Riches, Dignities

" and Glory stretch forth their Arms to you. Fortune
 " reserves all these Things to reward the Victorious.
 " I will serve you either as a General or a Soldier.
 " I will not be wanting in Advice, nor be backward
 " in executing ; but hope to take a final Resolution
 " with you, when I shall be invested with the Consular
 " Dignity, if I am not deceived in the good Opinion
 " I entertain of you, and if you do not prefer Servitude
 " to Empire." *Catiline*, after ending his Speech, made
 the Conspirators the most lavish Promises. He inveighed
 bitterly against all the virtuous Men in *Rome*, and
 bestowed the highest Applauses on all his Companions ;
 and lastly, exhorting them to proceed with the utmost
 Vigour in their Design, he dismissed the Assembly.

Q. Was not this Plot discovered to *Cicero* ?

A. Yes, by *Fulvia*, a Lady of an illustrious Family, which she, at the same time dishonoured by her criminal Amours with *Quintius Curius*, one of the Chiefs of the Conspiracy. This *Roman* had squandered away his whole Estate upon her, after which she despised him. *Curius* first reproached her ; then made the most servile Submissions ; and, at last, finding that he could obtain no future Favours without Money ; he to soothe *Fulvia* with dazzling Hopes, revealed to her the Particulars of the Conspiracy. She immediately whispered what she had heard, (but without mentioning *Curius*) to some worthy Persons of Distinction, by whose Means it was soon spread over *Rome*. *Cicero* sent for *Fulvia*, bribed her, and was told the whole Secret. The *Romans* were to proceed soon to a new Election of Consuls, and both *Cicero* and *Catiline* aspired to that Office. The latter to prejudice *Cicero*, was for ever exclaiming against the Meanness of his Extraction, whilst *Cicero* did every Thing that lay in his Power to make *Catiline* odious ; and his Endeavours were so successful, that the latter was rejected with Indignation, and *Cicero* elected into that high Office, at which many of *Catiline's* Adherents were exceedingly terrified. *Caius Antonius*, a Person of the most exalted Birth, of an indolent Temper, and fond of Pleasure, was appointed his Colleague.

Q. What

Q. What did *Catiline* upon his being thus disappointed?

A. He got new Partizans, and borrowed Money on all Hands. By his Order, great Quantities of Arms and Provisions were got up in different Places. He sent *C. Manlius* into *Tuscany*, *Septimius* into *Mareca Anconitana*, and *C. Julius* into *Apulia*, to levy Troops secretly; and to win over, if possible, the Officers and Soldiers who were settled in those Provinces, and had served with him under *Sylla*: In a Word, *Catiline* employed his utmost Efforts to get the Sovereignty into his own Hands, and to make himself the Tyrant over his Country.

Q. What Attempts were made about this Time by *Publius Servilius Rullus*, one of the Tribunes of the People?

A. He meditated the same Design as *Catiline*, but conducted it much more artfully, pretending that it was calculated in no other View but to serve the inferior sort of People. At his Accession to the Tribune-ship, he endeavoured to get into his own Hands the Disposal of such Demesnes, or Lands and Territories in different conquered Countries, as belonged to the State. He prevailed with the greatest Part of his Colleagues, and several of the principal Senators, to join with him in his Project; assuring them, that the Success of it would reward them with immense Riches, and an absolute Authority. *Rullus* then drew up the Plan of a new Law, the chief Import of which was, that, to ease the inferior sort, *Decemviri* should be immediately created; and at the same Time impowered to sell all such particular Demesnes as had been incorporated into the Demesnes of the Republic, ever since the Consulship of *L. Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius*; and that with the Money arising from such Sales, different Lands, situated in *Italy*, should be purchased, and afterwards divided among the lower Sort of People. To ingratiate himself still more with the Commons, he added, that the same Law should empower the Tribunes to plant new Colonies, in such Cities of *Italy* as they should think proper. It was farther enacted, that the Person who proposed it, should preside in the Assembly that would be held for the Election of *Decemviri*; by which Article *Rullus*

reserved

reserved to himself the chief Authority in this Affair. Several other very great Advantages were proposed in favour of the *Decemviri*; and notwithstanding that this Conduct might naturally raise a Suspicion of him, yet a great Number of Senators, and the whole Body of the People, declared in Favour of this Law: The former, fired by Ambition, flattering themselves with the Hopes of getting into the *Decemvirate*; and the Common People persuading themselves that Part of the Lands which should be purchased in *Italy*, would be given them. By these Arts, *Rullus* soon saw himself at the Head of a numerous Party; and *Antonius* the Consul, *Cicero's* Colleague, did not disapprove of these Innovations, he also hoping to be one of the *Decemviri*: But *Cicero* won *Antonius* from *Rullus*, by resigning to him the Government of *Macedon*, and the Command of the Army which was fallen to him (*Cicero*) by Lot. Having thus secured his Colleague, *Rullus* was the only Object of his Care; and he employed, but to no Purpose, some of their common Friends to sound this Tribune, and discover the Purport of his Law. However, *Cicero* having at last obtained a Copy of it, he assembled the Senate; and after hinting at the sinister Views of *Rullus*; representing how much the Authority of the Senate would be lessened by this Creation of the *Decemviri*; and observing, that the selling of the Lands which belonged to the *Demesnes*, would inevitably destroy the chief Forces of the Republic; he proved so evidently, that the sole View of *Rullus*, his Colleague, and Adherents, was, to enrich themselves at the public Expence, and to restore the Tyranny of the ancient *Decemviri*; that the Law was rejected almost unanimously by the Senate. Upon this *Rullus* and his Partizans resolved to address the People, who alone had a Right to determine on this Occasion, and who considered *Rullus* as another *Gracchus*; as their Patron and Benefactor. But *Cicero* not abating in his Zeal, went at the Head of the whole Senate, and preceded by his Lictors, to the *Forum*, on the Day appointed for the Assembly. Then mounting the *Rostra*, he endeavoured to shew, with all the Eloquence he was Master of, to the People themselves, how prejudicial this new Law would be to their true Interest and the public Liberty.

Liberty. And after assuring the Commons, that there was nothing he should have so much at Heart, during his whole Consulship, as their Happiness, he concluded his Speech as follows : " Those Persons who shall be chosen *Decemviri* will be (under *Rullus*) our Lords, and the absolute Masters of our Possessions. What Man ever heard of a more unjust and more audacious Law ? Who is the Author of it ? *Rullus*. Who is it pretends to deprive the greatest Part of the People of their Right of voting ? *Rullus*. Who is it will nominate the *Decemviri*, merely to promote his own Views ? *Rullus*. Who is it will be at the Head of these *Decemviri*? Need this be made a Question ? *Rullus*. To conclude, who is it will usurp all the Possessions belonging to the State ? The single *Rullus*. Thus, O People, are you treated ; you who are the Sovereigns over Nations : But such Treatment would scarce be submitted to under the Empire of a Tyrant, and a Society of Slaves." *Cicero* spoke in so forcible a Manner, that he convinced the People they could not receive the proposed Law, without, at the same Time, giving up their Liberties, and ruining the Commonwealth. Wherefore the Projects of *Rullus* and his Colleagues were universally rejected : But *Cicero* could not so easily defeat that of *Catiline*.

Q. What were the Conspirators doing at this Time ?

A. *Fulvia*, whom we have already mentioned, revealed to *Cicero* all such Particulars as *Curius*, her Gallant, told her concerning the Plot. But the bare Deposition of a Woman, whose Reputation was quite lost, was not Foundation sufficient for him to proceed in a legal Way against a Person of such exalted Birth as *Catiline*, and to whom the greatest Men in the Senate and *Rome* were either related or attached. The Consul perceived that it would be necessary for him to procure better Proofs ; and for this Reason he hired Spies to observe what was doing in all Places. He even won over some of the Conspirators ; and by that means discovered all the Particulars of *Catiline's* Design which was, to set fire to different Parts of the City ; to stab the chief Senators in their Houses ; and, at the same time, to bring forward the Troops commanded by *Manlius*, in order

order for them to seize upon *Rome* and the Government. But now News was brought that *Pompey*, after having subdued the greatest Part of the East, was returning to *Italy* at the Head of a victorious Army; which so terrified *Catiline*, that he resolved to execute his horrid Design immediately; and for this Purpose he, in the dead of Night, assembled all the Conspirators in a solitary Place, where he earnestly conjured them to fall immediately to work. - The whole Assembly approved his Proposal, and it accordingly was resolved to begin the Massacre with *Cicero*; then to set Fire to the City, and to murder the whole Senate; after which *Catiline* was to put himself at the Head of *Manilius's* Troops, and seize upon the Government in the same manner as *Sylla* had done. The Night preceding the *Saturnalia* was appointed for this Bloody Execution; and all Things being agreed upon, the Conspirators rioted away the remaining Hours till Day break, in the most infamous Pleasures.

Q. How did *Cicero* behave?

A. Being again informed by *Fulvia* of what was preparing, he gave out proper Orders to his Domestics; so that *Cethegus*, who intended to assassinate him, coming the next Day, upon Pretence of communicating some important Affairs to him, was refused Admittance. *Cicero* putting on a Coat of Mail under his Robe, went to the Senate, and there revealed the whole Conspiracy. Immediately the Senators (as in Cases when the Republic is in Danger) invested him with absolute Authority; upon which *Cicero* sent several of the worthiest Senators into the principal Cities of *Italy*; posted Guards in different Parts of *Rome*; promised a Pardon, and even a Reward, to such of the Conspirators as should make any Discoveries, with regard to this execrable Design; but not one of the Wretches came in. The whole City was in the utmost Consternation; and a general Terror was spread over every Part of it; none knowing whom to trust, or what to be afraid of; every one measuring his Danger by his Fears. The whole Scheme of this Plot was now discovered by a Packet, which a Person unknown brought to *Craffus*, and which he immediately carried to the Senate. Whilst they were debating on it,

it, *Catiline* came, without discovering the least Concern ; but when he offered to take his Seat as a Senator, none of his Brethren would sit on the same Bench with him. *Cicero*, who presided in the Assembly, being no longer able to suppress his Indignation, addressed him in the following Words ; " How long, O *Catiline*, wilt thou abuse our Patience ? How long are we to be the Object of thy Fury ? To what Lengths dost thou intend to carry thy criminal Boldness ? Dost thou not perceive, by the Guard that is kept Day and Night in the City, by the Fears of the People, and by the exasperated Countenances of the Senators, that all thy destructive Designs are discovered ? Faithful Eyes watch over thy every Step : I have Notice of thy most secret Councils, and even see into thy Thoughts. Dost thou think I am unacquainted with thy Meeting last Night ? Didst thou not then bestow the several Employments of the State, and divide all Italy among thy Accomplices ? Some are to march into the Country under the Command of *Manlius* ; and the rest to stay in the City, there to set Fire to different Parts of it. In the Midst of the Tumult and Confusion, which a general Conflagration must occasion, the Consul is to be assassinated in his House, and the greatest Part of the Senators. The Senate, that so august and sacred Assembly, is informed of the most minute Particulars of the Conspiracy, and still *Catiline* lives. He is even among that Body ; he hears us ; he looks upon us as his Victims. Whilst we are speaking, he is marking out those whom he designs a bloody Sacrifice ; and nevertheless we are so patient, or rather so weak, as to be more intent upon own Safety, than the bringing him to condign Punishment."

Q. How did *Catiline* take these Reproaches ?

A. Being prepared for such a Reception, and assuming an Air of the deepest Dissimulation, he humbly conjured the Senators, with a supplicating Voice, not to credit lightly the disadvantageous Things which might be said of him. That his Birth, and his Behaviour from his Infancy, had been such, as ought to make them entertain the most favourable Hopes of him ; that being of a *Patrician* House, and

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" descended from Men, who had done such eminent Services to the State, and whose Example he had always endeavoured to imitate; it was no ways probable, that he could meditate the Ruin of the Government; whilst a Person of the meanest Extraction set himself up for the Defender of it." He concluded with a great many scurrilous Reflections upon *Cicero*; when that Senator rising up, and calling *Catiline*, *Enemy* and *Parricide*; the latter cried in a furious Tone of Voice; " Since Snares are every where laid for me; and those to whom I am odious, exasperate me beyond Measure, I will not perish singly, but involve my Enemies in my Ruin." Saying these Words, he flew out of the Senate-house; when sending for *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the chief Conspirators, he told them what had passed. Then exhorting them to murder the Consul, he left *Rome* the next Night, accompanied by 300 Men; and went and joined *Manlius*. He now caused Lictors, with Fasces and Axes, to walk before him, as though he had been a Magistrate. The Senators hearing of this open Insurrection, ordered *Antonius* the Consul to march the Legions against the Rebels, and *Cicero* to take care of the City.

Q. What was done by *Lentulus* and the chief Conspirators in *Rome*?

A. They endeavoured to prevail with the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, to stir up the *Gauls* against the Commonwealth. Those Ambassadors were come to *Rome*, to implore the Senate to lessen their heavy Taxes, and the Debts they had thereby been obliged to contract; but no Regard had been paid to their Entreaties. Upon this, *Umbrenus*; one of the Conspirators, waiting upon the Ambassadors, enquired how they thought their Negotiation would end? " In our Deaths," replied they, " since the Senate is deaf to our just Remonstrances." *Umbrenus* then inveighed against the Senate, and took Leave of the *Allobroges*. He afterwards exerted himself, seemingly, in their Favour, and by that means won their Esteem. But now *Umbrenus*, and *Gabinius*, another Conspirator, revealed the whole Plot to the Ambassadors; and assured them, that if their Nation would take up Arms and join *Catiline*,

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the strongest Assurances would be given them, that all their Debts should be remitted. *Umbrenus* and his Companion being one, the *Allobroges* examined attentively all they had heard, and the Proposal which had been made them; after which they went to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, their Patron, and informed him of all that had been told them; when *Sanga* prevailing with them to wait upon *Cicero*, this Consul made them more solemn Promises than the Conspirators had done; upon which the Ambassadors gave the most solemn Assurances, that they would adhere faithfully to *Cicero* and the State, and endeavour to discover as many Particulars as they could of the Conspiracy.

Q. How did the Ambassadors proceed?

A. *Lentulus*, *Cetbegus*, and the chief Conspirators, being come to the Rendezvous appointed, were met by the *Allobroges*, who, after making a Multitude of Objections, at last shewed a feigned Consent. The Treaty was writ over twice, and signed by the Ambassadors and Conspirators. The former were allowed to have one of those Instruments, upon Pretence of shewing it to their Superiors; and it was agreed that they should set out for their own Country in the Night-time; and pass by *Catiline's* Camp, in order to get the Treaty ratified by him. At the same Time *Lentulus* gave them Letters directed for *Catiline*, containing the Plan of the Conspiracy, and the several Measures which had been taken. *Cicero* being informed by the *Allobroges*, that they were to set out the Night following, sent privately two Praetors, with Guards, who secured one of the Bridges over which they were to pass. The Ambassadors being come to it, were stopt, and surrendered without making the least Resistance, as though they had been come upon by Surprise. As the Consul had now got a Plan of the Conspiracy, he assembled the Senate very early in the Temple of Concord; when he caused *Lentulus*, *Cetbegus*, *Gabinius*, and two more, to be put under an Arrest, and brought into the Assembly, where the *Allobroges* were confronted with them. The Letters being read publicly, and *Lentulus* being convicted by his own Hand-writing, he was forced to resign the Praetorship;

tortship ; after which himself, with his Accomplices, were conveyed to different Prisons.

Q. What became of them afterwards ?

A. *Cicero* again assembled the Senate, in order to debate concerning the Punishment that ought to be inflicted on them. *Syllanus*, appointed Consul for the next Year, being (as was usual) first asked his Opinion, declared, that they ought to be put to Death, as did all who spoke after him; till *Julius Cæsar* rising up, made a long Speech in Favour of Clemency, saying, among other Things, " Could any punishment be found adequate to their Faults, I then should ap- prove of your Severity ; but if the Greatness of their Crimes surpasses the utmost Effort of Invention, we ought to employ such as are provided by the Laws. Though I own that all the Tortures that could possibly be inflicted are inferior to their Offences ; yet most Men treasure up in their Memories what comes last ; and, in the Sufferings of the guiltiest Wretches, forget the Fact, and talk of nothing but the Punishment, if severer than usual." He concluded with saying, " that as this Affair related to the putting to Death several of the most conspicuous Citizens of Rome, he presumed that they ought not to be over-hasty in pronouncing Sentence ; but should keep them under a strong Guard in some City of Italy, till such Time as *Catiline* was overcome." As *Cæsar* was an excellent Orator, he brought over a great Number of Senators to his Opinion, and even *Syllanus* himself. But *Porcius Cato*, Grandson to the renowned Moralist, standing up, said, " That as he had never forgiven himself the least Error of his own Thoughts, he therefore could not be easily prevailed upon to pardon the Effects of Ambition, and a turbulent Passion, in others. That, among the old Romans, *Manlius Torquatus* had put his own Son to Death only for engaging the Enemy in Opposition to his Command ; and if that brave Youth, says he, was punished with so much Severity for his too hasty Courage, shall the present Romans hesitate what to decree against the bloodiest of Parricides, and the greatest Monsters in Nature ?" In short, *Cato* proved

so evidently, that the saving of the Lives of a few wicked Wretches, would be putting, as it were, a Dagger to the Throats of the most virtuous and worthy Persons in *Rome*, that the whole Assembly joined in his Opinion. *Cicero* then made a Speech, in which he, with an artful and ambiguous kind of Compassion, inclined to *Cato's* Side, he declaring, " That his Warinthe was not the Effect of Malice or Anger, but arose wholly from Tenderness: That they ought to reflect, that it was not *T. Gracchus* who demanded the Tribuneship a second Time, nor *C. Gracchus* who claimed the public Lands — but Wretches who were for burning the City, and murdering the People: That as this Evil was already spread over all *Italy* and beyond the *Alps*, the only Way of putting a Stop to it, would be to do it immediately." It therefore was resolved that they should be put to Death; and *Cicero*, upon the bare Sentence of the Senate, and without bringing this Affair before the Assembly of the People, (as was usual) caused the Conspirators to be executed in different Prisons. It is related that *Cicero*, after this Execution, met with a great Number of their Friends and Accomplices, who did not know that they had been put to Death, and were resolved to rescue them in the Night; and that the Consul turning towards them, said *They have lived*; a soft Expression employed by the *Romans* on such Occasions, instead of the harsher Words *they are dead*: Which Expression, as though it had been a Clap of Thunder, crushed the Plot at once, and disconcerted all the Designs of the Conspirators. *Rome* was now the Scene of universal Joy. Public Thanks were given to *Cicero* the Consul, for the indefatigable Pains he had taken. At *Cato's* Request, he was, first of all others, stiled the *Father of his Country*, and this with the loudest Acclamations of the People, who cried, " that although they were obliged to many Generals of that Age, for Wealth, Spoils and Power; yet it was to *Cicero* alone that they were indebted for the Security of all those Blessings."

Q. How did the People behave towards *Cæsar*?
A. Though

A. Though he made a considerable Figure in the State on Account of his Birth, his Eloquence, his own Credit, and that of his Friends, he yet was treated in a quite different manner from *Cicero*. It had been long suspected that he harboured secret Designs; and his endeavouring to save the Lives of the Conspirators increased the Suspicion. Several *Roman Knights*, at *Cæsar's* leaving the Senate, would have assassinated him, had not *Cicero* made a Sign to them to let him pass. It was reported at this Time, that *Cæsar* had been strongly accused by some of the Conspirators; but *Cicero* knowing the great Credit *Cæsar* had in *Rome*, would not impeach him with the rest; for fear lest, escaping by the Interest of his Friends, he, at the same Time, should save all the Criminals. But notwithstanding this, the Public were fully persuaded, he had been privy to all the wicked Designs that were hatching; and therefore they began to consider him as a Man who would not scruple to commit the blackest Actions to make his Fortune.

Q. What became of *Catiline*?

A. Several of the Conspirators who were in his Camp, and a great Number of Soldiers, left it secretly, as soon as News was brought that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had been executed. But this could not dismay *Catiline*, who resolved to destroy the Commonwealth or lose his Life. He accordingly made new Levies; filled the Cohorts with them, and soon compleated the Legions, which were all animated with the same Fury as himself, and ready to turn their Arms against their Country. *Catiline* having been disappointed in his Design of marching to *Rome*, resolved to go for *Gaul*, and there stir up such Provinces as were subject to the *Romans*. But Q. *Metellus Celer* having penetrated into his Views, intercepted him, and encamped in his Passage; during which *Antonius* the Consul at the Head of his Army, followed at a little Distance. *Catiline* finding himself surrounded with Enemies, and his Retreat cut off, resolved to hazard a Battle, though his Forces were inferior to those of *Antonius*. The Consul having a sudden Fit of the Gout, (tho' this was judged by many to be an Artifice) gave the Command

of his Army to *Petreius*, who had served 30 Years in the Field ; and from being a private Soldier, had been raised to the Post of General. *Petreius* engaged the Enemy with the utmost Bravery, and both Sides fought with the greatest Resolution ; but at last the Army of the Republic was victorius. All were put to the Sword. But *Catilina*, who was determined not to survive the Ruin of his Party, rushed, at the Head of the Conspirators, into that Part where the Engagement was hottest, and lost *Ann. Rom. 691.* his Life. He was afterwards found, at a great Distance from his Army, among a Pile of dead Bodies of the Enemy. He still breathed a little ; and there were strongly imprinted in his Face the Marks of that savage Fierceness with which he had been animated when living.

Q. When did *Pompey* return to *Rome* ?

A. The Year after this Conspiracy, *Ann. Rom. 692.* under the Consulship of *Decius Junius*

Syllanus and *L. Licinius Murena*. He had employed five Years in this Expedition, and had gained the greatest Glory by his mighty Atchievements. Upon his Arrival in *Italy* he had sent back his Army, to prevent any Suspicion of his aspiring to sovereign Power ; and therefore obtained the Honour of a Triumph with general Applause. It lasted two Days, and therein were exhibited the Names of 15 conquered Kingdoms, 800 Cities, &c. Among the Captives were the Son of *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter, as likewise *Zozima*, *Tigranes's* Wife ; *Aristobulus* King of *Judæa* ; King *Mithridates*'s Sister, her five Sons, &c. A numberless Multitude of Trophies were seen ; and among the rest, the Statue of *Pbarnaces*, all of massy Silver ; Chariots of the same Metal ; Tables of Gold, and thirty-three Pearl Crowns of inestimable Value. *Pompey's* Car was drawn by Elephants. He shewed by his Accounts, that he had improved the whole Revenue of the Republic to the Value of 120,000 Talents ; abstracted from the large Sums he had distributed even among the meanest of his Soldiers.

Q. How did *Pompey* behave at his Return to *Rome* ?

A. Having

A. Having attained to so exalted a Pitch of Glory, he thought it did not become him to familiarize himself with his Fellow-Citizens. He was seldom seen in Public; and never came out of his House, without being attended by his Creatures, the crowded Train of which resembled a great Prince's Court, rather than the Attendants of a Citizen of a Republic. It was not that he abused his Power; but as *Rome* was a free City, the Inhabitants of it could not bear to see him assume the Behaviour of a Monarch. But *Pompey* having been accustomed from his Youth to command Armies, could not prevail with himself to live like a private Citizen. His Manners indeed, and Conduct, were pure and unspotted; he even was justly applauded for his Temperance; not a Man thought him avaricious; and, in the Dignities he aspired to, he did not so much seek for Power, as the Splendor with which they are surrounded. But more sensible to Vanity than Ambition, he aimed to attain such Honours as might distinguish him from all the Commanders of his Age. Moderate in all Things else, any Competition with him in Glory was insupportable. This Jealousy made him a great Number of Enemies, of whom *Cæsar* was afterwards the most dangerous and irreconcileable. The one could not suffer an Equal, the other a Superior; which ambitious Competition, between the two greatest Men in the World, gave Rise to new Revolutions.

Q. Describe the Person and Qualities of *Julius Cæsar*?

A. He was the handsomest Man in his Time; was skilled in Exercises of every kind; indefatigable, brave, ambitious, and generous even to Profusion: Nature, which seemed to have formed him to command over the rest of Men, had given him an Air of Empire, and a Dignity in his whole Deportment! but then this Air of Majesty was softened by a sweet and engaging Carriage. His insinuating and invincible Eloquence resulted more from the Beauty of his Person than the Strength of his Arguments; and he began, by winning the Hearts of the People, as the most solid Foundation of the Sovereignty to which he aspired. Though born a private Citizen in a Commonwealth,

wealth, he yet meditated a Design to subject his Country ; and was not intimidated at the Greatness and Danger of such an Enterprize. The recent Examples of *Marius* and *Sylla* shewed that it was not impossible for him to rise to sovereign Power. But prudent, even in his immoderate Desires, he suspended the Execution of them to different Times. His Genius, though so very extensive, was always just ; and though his Victories were so glorious, they ought to be considered as great Actions, only because they were the Consequence and Effect of mighty Designs.

Q. Did not *Cæsar* begin, about this Time, to make a greater Figure than ever in *Rome* ?

A. Yes. This renowned Warrior descended, by the Mother's Side, from the first Kings of *Rome*, she being sprung from *Ancus Marcius* : And, by the Father's Side, he came from the *Julian* Family, whose Origin he traced up to *Venus*, in order to throw the brighter Glory round his Extraction. He lost his Father at sixteen Years of Age. The Year following he was made High-Priest of *Jupiter* ; and, after having divorced *Cossutia*, he married *Cornelia* Daughter to *Cinna*, who brought him *Julia*. *Sylla* did all that lay in his Power to make him repudiate her ; but finding *Cæsar* would not consent to this, he sentenced, that he should be divested of the Priesthood ; should forfeit his Wife's Portion, and the Estates he might inherit in her Right ; and, at the same Time suspected that he had joined with the Enemy ; the Civil War being then declared between *Marius* and *Sylla*. *Cæsar*, to avoid the Fury of so powerful a Man, was forced to hide himself for some Time, and at last was set at Liberty at the Request of the *Veſtal Virgins*, and *Mamercus Emilius* and *Aurelius Cotta*, his illustrious Friends : But it was with the utmost Reluctance that *Sylla* pardoned him. *Cæsar* first carried his Arms into *Asia*, and at his Return, went to *Rhodes* to compleat his Studies under *Apollonius Molo* ; from thence he returned to *Rome*, where he was created Military Tribune, and, a little after, *Quæstor*. It was in this last Quality that he went into *Spain* by the *Prætor's* Order, to visit the Assemblies, and administer Justice there. It is observed that

that passing by *Cadiz*, he entered the Temple of *Hercules*, where spying the Picture of *Alexander the Great*, he could not forbear shedding of Tears, to think that he had not performed any remarkable Action, at an Age in which *Alexander* had subdued the World. At his Return from *Spain* he was appointed *Aedile*, and afterwards *Pontifex Maximus*. He solicited so artfully for the latter Employment, that he gained it from *Q. Lutatius Catulus* and *C. Servilius Isauricus*, who were much older than himself; and had done infinitely greater Services to the Republic: Some Years after he was chosen *Prætor*, and, at the same Time, Governor of *Spain*, whither he went in order to take upon himself the Government of that Country.

Q. What Actions were performed by *Cæsar* in *Spain*?

A. He employed his whole Time in extending the Frontiers of it. He carried his Arms into *Gallicia* and *Lusitania*, which he made a *Roman Province*. However *Cæsar* did not forget his private Interest, he extorting all the Gold and Silver in those Provinces; after which he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with the Acclamations of the People.

Q. What was *Pompey* doing?

A. He demanded a Confirmation of all that he had transacted in *Asia*, and certain Lands as a Reward for his Soldiers. But *Cato* opposed all his Power to *Pompey's* Interest, as also did *Lucullus*, who put a Stop to his intended Law, with regard to rewarding his Soldiers. *Pompey*, on this Treatment, applied himself to the Tribunes, (whose Office he and *Cæsar* had revived, after it had been put down by *Sylla*) one of whom, named *Flavius*, proposed the Law for recompensing the Soldiers. *Metellus*, although he had been created *Consul* by *Pompey's* Interest, opposed it very strongly, until a great deal of Blood being shed in the Contest, the Tribune imprisoned *Metellus*. The whole Body of the Senators offered to make themselves Prisoners with him, but *Flavius* caused his Tribunal to be fixed at the Prison Door, and forbid them Entrance. Upon this the Senators had the Wall beat down in another Part; which made the *Populace*, who always judge of Things by Appearances,

being

begin to waver in their Resolution. This Pompey soon discovering, he besought the Tribunes to make up the Affair, pretending that it was done at Metellus's Request ; he now being sorry that he had left his Army, and exposed himself to the Hatred of his Enemies.

Q. How did Cæsar conduct himself at his Return to Rome ?
A. He demanded a Triumph of the Senate, and at the same time declared his Design of standing for the Consulate. But as the Law forbade Entrance into the City to any Person who desired a Triumph ; and required a Person who sued for the Consulship, to do it in Person ; Cæsar intreated, by Letter, the Senate, that these Formalities might be dispensed with in his Favour. But Cato insisted to have their Laws maintained in their utmost Rigour ; and his Opinion prevailing, Cæsar chose to decline the Triumph, and went to Rome, and stood for the Consulate. He then expended the Wealth he had amass'd in Spain, in getting new Creatures ; to whom his House was open at all times, and from whom he concealed nothing but his Heart. It was not doubted but that he would have put himself at the Head of Catiline's Conspiracy, had it succeeded. However, the ill Success of this black Attempt, and the Remembrance of the Death of the Gracchi, assassinated before the Eyes of the Populace who adored them, shewed, that the Affection of the People, singly, was not sufficient for his Purpose. And he concluded, that it would be impossible for him ever to obtain the sovereign Authority, without enjoying the Command of the Armies, and procuring a great Number of Friends, and even a Party in the Senate. This Assembly was divided at that time between Pompey and Crassus, who were Competitors for the Government. Cæsar resolv'd to unite with them alternately ; but as it woud be impossible for him to enjoy, at the same time, the Friendship of two professed Enemies, he endeavoured to reconcile them ; and succeeded in his Design. These three Men now agreed, " that nothing should be transacted in the Republic in Opposition to their respective Interests, or without their Approbation ;" and this they confirmed, with Oaths, in the most solemn Manner. Thus was formed the

first grand Triumvirate, which overthrew the Consular and Popular State ; being a Combination of the three greatest Men in *Rome*, for Valour, Authority, and Riches. In this manner *Rome* lost its Liberty (after making a very great Figure for many Years) which was wholly owing to its Corruption ; and it was soon after plunged into greater Miseries than ever. The Triumvirate in question was formed 58 Years before *Ann. Rom. 694.* the Birth of our Saviour. The Roman Dominions contained at that time all *Italy*, *Gallia Cisalpina*, and Part of the other ; all *Spain*, *Africa*, *Greece*, and *Illyricum* ; all the Kingdoms of *Asia Minor*, with *Syria*, *Judea*, *Armenia*, *Media*, and *Mesopotamia*. *Rome* had now attained to a very exalted Pitch of Grandeur, whether we consider the Extent an Fertility of its Dominions ; the Power of its Arms, the Bravery and Reputation of its Generals, the Greatness of its Revenue ; the Extent and Splendor of the City itself, and the Number, Wealth, Learning, and Polite ness of its Inhabitants. But now the State was distempered with Factions and Corruptions, and likewise with Feuds and Jealousies, ever since the uniting of the three powerful Men above-mentioned ; whence many were justly apprehensive, that the Ruin of their Liberties was approaching.

B O O K II. Chap. VII.

*The Mixed State of ROME.**From the Beginning of the first Triumvirate, to the Death of JULIUS CÆSAR.**Containing about 16 Years.*

WHAT was the first Effect of this Triumvirate ?

A The raising *Cæsar* to the Consulate, which he persuaded *Pompey* and *Crassus* to let him enjoy, as in Trust : *Calphurnius Bibulus* was chosen his Colleague. *Cæsar* now

now secretly bribed the Chiefs of the two Parties (those of *Pompey* and *Crassus*) and out of them he formed a Third, which afterwards crushed that which had been most instrumental to his Exaltation. *Rome* was now a Prey to the Ambition of three Men, who, by the Authority of their united Factions, disposed arbitrarily of all the Posts and Employments in the Commonwealth. *Crassus* sought after nothing but the accumulating of Wealth; *Pompey* enjoyed, in a dangerous Indolence, his Credit and Reputation; but *Cæsar*, more artful and secret than either, laid the Foundation of his own Greatness on their Security, and drew off many of their Adherents, all whom he won over to his own Interest.

Q. What was the first Thing transacted by *Cæsar* in his Consulship?

A. He confirmed all *Pompey's* Acts, pursuant to a Convention made between *Ann. Rom. 695.* them; and from that Moment he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Commons. The artful Manner in which he divided *Pompey* and the Senate, and the Senate and People, was the Master-stroke of his Policy. He attempted to revive the *Agrarian Law*. He foresaw that the Consent of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, which he had secured before; and the Opposition of *Cato*, *Cicero*, and all the zealous Republicans, would give Rise to mutual Feuds; and that the People, who are ever blind to their own Interest, would declare against the Senators; without reflecting that the only Motive of their opposing *Cæsar's* Party was to preserve their Laws and Liberties. But now *Cæsar* preferred a Law, for dividing certain Lands in *Campania*, among 20,000 of the poorer Citizens, who had three Children or more. The *Plebeians* were highly pleased with this Proposal; and *Cæsar* had drawn up this Law in such just and reasonable Terms, that no Man could find fault with it. However, the Senate, to prevent its passing, and yet not seem to oppose it, adjourned the Affair from Day to Day, till, at last, *Cato* declared publicly, "That such Innovations in the State were not to be suffered;" upon which the whole Senate joined in Opinion with him. Immediately *Cæsar* had Recourse to the People,

before whom he inveighed against the Senate; and asking, publicly, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, what they thought of this Law, they both approved it; and *Pompey* declared farther, " That should any Man oppose it with " his drawn Sword, he would not only unsheathe his " own, but also take up a Shield. This answer made *Pompey* odious to the Senate. But now the Consul, supported by his Adherents, with those of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, made this Law to pass, in spite of the Remonstrances of the most zealous Republicans. After this, 20 Commissioners being appointed, they divided the Lands in *Campania* among 20,000 *Roman* Families. These were afterwards so many Clients, whose Interest it was to support every thing that should be done during his Consulship; and he likewise passed a second Law, by which the Senate, and all future Magistrates, bound themselves by an Oath, not to make any Decree in prejudice to what had been enacted in the Assemblies of the People during his Consulate. From this time *Cæsar* made very little use of the Senate; and *Bibulus* his Colleague was drove out of the *Forum* by the Populace, who broke his Fasces and wounded his Lictors: after which *Bibulus* never durst appear in public; but kept himself at home the remaining Part of the Year. During this time, the whole Administration was in *Cæsar's* Hands; and he disposed of all things at Pleasure; whence some unknown Person took occasion to date an Instrument as follows; *Julius and Cæsar being Consuls*, instead of these Words, *in the Consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus.*

Q. What was next done by *Cæsar*?

A. He now applied himself to the *Equites*, who having farmed the Customs, desired an Abatement of the Rent. This the Senate refused, but *Cæsar* afterwards prevailed with the *Plebeians* to abate the third Part. By thus ingratiating himself with the Commons, he persuaded them to decree him the Provinces of *Gallia Cisalpina* and *Illyricum* during five Years, with four Legions; there being nothing he panted after so much as the performing of great Exploits; and he spent the remaining Part of the Year in establishing his Interest for the Time to come. Knowing therefore how considerable

a Man

a Man Pompey was, and fearing lest he should be won back by the zealous Republicans, he gave him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage. Pompey bestowed his on *Servilius*; and *Cæsar* married *Calphurnia*, Daughter to *Piso*, whom, with *Gabinius*, he appointed Consuls for the following Year. The government of *Syria* was afterwards given to *Crassus*, who had demanded it, in hopes of amassing new Riches there; and Pompey was allotted *Spain*, which he always governed by his Lieutenants, so fond was he of the Pleasures of *Rome*. In this Manner these three Men divided the World between them, as though it had been their patrimonial Estate; and *Cato* inveighing against this Prostitution of the Commonwealth, *Cæsar* caused him to be put under an Arrest, though upon another Pretence. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* met with very rough Treatment. To ruin the latter, whose Abilities gave Umbrage to *Cæsar*, he was not ashamed to associate himself with *Pub. Clodius*, *Cicero's* professed Enemy; and got *Clodius* elected one of the Tribunes, though he had been accused, not long before, of being engaged in a criminal Correspondence with *Pompeia*, *Cæsar's* Wife.

Q. I should be glad to know the Particulars of this Incident.

A. *Publius Clodius* was a young Man, handsome, rich, eloquent, and favoured by the *Plebeians*, whose Interest he espoused; but haughty on account of his exalted Birth, and the Credit he obtained in *Rome*. He was fallen distractedly in Love with *Pompeia* above mentioned, and his Passion was not displeasing; so that nothing but an Interview (to procure which was extremely difficult) was wanting. *Clodius* imagined he might get into *Cæsar's* House by means of a Festival which was to be there solemnized, in the Night, in Honour of *Bacchus*. The Men were excluded these nocturnal Ceremonies, and even the Master of the Family; and the Wife of a Consul or *Prætor* generally acted as Priestess of this Deity. But now *Clodius*, disguising himself in female Apparel, was introduced by a Maid Servant into the House of *Aurelia*, *Pompeia's* Mother. The Rendezvous was in the Maid's Chamber, who hiding *Clodius*, went to inform *Pompeia*

of his Arrival. But she staying some time, he came out, and straying about, was met by another Maid-Servant, who mistaking him for a Woman, would oblige him to play with her. *Clodius* obstinately refusing, she attempted to bring him into the Light; when he, to free himself from her Importunities, said, that he was one of the female Signers appointed to officiate in that Festival. The Tone of his Voice betraying him, the Servant ran, in a great Fright, and told *Aurelia* what she had heard. Immediately the Ceremonies were suspended; and the Criminal being sought for, was discovered. *Aurelia* then turned him out of her House, and the next Morning, informed the Senate of the whole Transaction. This gave Offence to all the Citizens, and the Tribune impeached *Clodius* before the People; but *Cæsar* would not join in the Prosecution, because *Clodius* was in such Credit with them, and for that Reason he only divorced his Wife.

Q. What did *Clodius* afterwards?

A. Being now under no Fears from *Cæsar*, he declared that *Aurelia* had mistaken another Person for him; and offered to prove that he was at a great Distance from *Rome*, the Night that this Festival was solemnized. But *Cicero* coming into the Assembly, assured them that *Clodius* had been at his House the very Evening of the Festival. However, his Testimony was over-powered by *Clodius*'s Authority, and the Money with which he bribed the Judges. Being now cleared, he resolved to revenge himself on *Cicero*, and for that Purpose got himself elected Tribune; and immediately proposed several Laws in favour of the *Plebeians*, the better to ingratiate himself with them. He also won over to his Interest *Piso* and *Gabinius*, the Consuls that Year; and knowing that *Crassus* was actually at Variance with *Cicero*; that *Cæsar*, ever since *Catiline's* Conspiracy, looked upon him with an evil Eye; and that *Pompey* because of his Alliance with *Cæsar*, would not favour *Cicero*; he thereupon accused him, before the People of having put to Death *Lentulus*, *Cetegus*, and the rest of the Conspirators, contrary to the Laws, inasmuch as he had not advised with the People on that Occasion. *Cicero*, on this Charge, besought

besought *Cæsar* to let him go into Gaul, as his Lieutenant ; to which *Cæsar* consented. But *Clodius*, knowing that this would oblige him to suspend the Prosecution, got their common Friends to assure *Cicero*, that there was nothing he desired more than to be reconciled to him, upon which *Cicero* resumed his Seat in the Senate. But now *Cæsar* was so much disgusted at *Cicero* for resigning the Lieutenancy, that he joined with *Clodius* to ruin him. Upon this the Latter revived his Impeachment ; when *Cicero* seeing the Danger to which he was exposed, put on a mean Habit ; and letting his Beard and Hair grow, went up and down *Rome*, to solicit the Protection of the Great Men. The Senate, out of their high Regard to him, offered to go into Mourning ; but the Consuls, being bribed by *Clodius*, would not suffer it. That Great Man at last had Recourse to *Pompey*, who owed him infinite Obligations ; but he had retired into the Country, purposely, to avoid *Cicero*, who thereupon first sent *Piso*, his Son-in-law, thither, and afterwards went himself, of which *Pompey* being informed he stole out at a Back-door, ordering his Servants to say that he was gone to *Rome*. *Cicero* finding himself thus abandoned, forsook, as it were, himself ; and this Man, who defended others with such wonderful Eloquence, could not find Words to justify an Action which had gained him the Applauses of the Senate and all the People. *Cicero* now found, that he either must have Recourse to Arms or retire ; but *Cato*, and the rest of his Friends, advising the latter, he left *Rome*, in the Night-time, and went to *Sicily*. *Clodius* then banished him, by the Votes of the People, 400 Miles from *Italy* ; demolished his Houses both in *Rome* and in the Country, and set his Goods to Sale. *Cato* was sent soon after, upon Pretence of doing him Honour, against the King of *Cyprus* : *Lucullus* had left the City ; so that now the Administration seemed to be carried on chiefly by *Pompey* and *Clodius*.

Q. What was *Clodius's* next Attempt ?

A. He had the Boldness to attack *Pompey* himself, and to summon him before the People, to make him give an account of his Conduct in the Wars of the *East* ; upon

which Pompey resolved to recall Cicero, in order to oppose him to Clodius. Milo, one of the Tribunes, and others proposing this to the Senate, it was generally assented to. But being afterwards proposed by Milo and his Colleague to the People, Clodius, assisted by a Party of Gladiators, set upon the Multitude, on which occasion many People were killed, the Tribunes wounded, and Quintus, Cicero's Brother, was almost crushed to Death with dead Bodies; and the rest fled. Not long after, Clodius was seized by Milo, and carried before the Praetor, when a Contest ensuing, Clodius's Party was beat off; upon which Pompey possessed himself of the Forum, when Cicero's Return was voted with universal Consent, and he accordingly came back, after sixteen Months Banishment. All the Cities through which he passed paid him such extraordinary Honours, that it seemed a continual Triumph. Upon his coming near to Rome, the Senators, the Equites, and all the People went out to meet him.

Q. Why did Cæsar chuse the Government of Gallia Cisalpina, &c?

A. Because he thought it offered him an Opportunity of acquiring a mighty Name. The Conquest of Gaul appeared an Object worthy of his great Bravery, and he hoped to amass mighty Sums by the Plunder of that Country. His Government was now enlarged considerably, and Pompey had lent him a Legion. His first Enterprize was against the Helvetians or Swiss, who had abandoned their native Country; set fire to their Towns; destroyed their Provisions; and were marching to Gaul thro' his Province, they being upwards Ann. Rom. 696. of 300,000. Cæsar having Advice of this, flew to Geneva, and broke down the Bridge there; and afterwards throwing up a large Intrenchment, 12 Miles in Length, from the Lake of Geneva, the Helvetians were forced to turn aside, and enter Gaul another way. Cæsar followed them with great Diligence; and after some Skirmishes, he drew them to a general Battle, in which they were entirely defeated, not many more than 100,000 surviving. Their men and women were sent into Bondage to Wives

Wives and Children fought like Desperadoes, till they were cut to Pieces.

Q. What were his next Achievements?

A. He immediately turned his Arms against *Ariovitus*, King of the Germans, who had seized on the best Part of *Sequania*, and cruelly oppressed the Inhabitants. These being Allies to the *Romans*, sent to *Cæsar* for Succour, who having an Interview (but to no Purpose) with *Ariovitus*, they came to an Engagement. The Augurs of the Germans having raised a superstitious Fancy in their Minds, and being intimidated at the bold Approach of the Romans, were all routed. *Cæsar* pursued them close for several Miles together as far as the *Rhine*; covering all the Way with Spoils and dead Bodies, to the Number of 80,000. According to *Plutarch*, *Cæsar* fought in *Gaul* against three Millions of Men whereof he slew one Million and took another Prisoners. *Appian* agrees to the Number of the Slain and the Prisoners, but says, that the Enemy amounted to four Millions; and adds, that *Cæsar* seized upon 400 Cities in *Gaul*. *Valleius Paternus* declares, that he slew but 400,000. *Ariovitus* himself narrowly escaped with a small Retinue in a little Boat; two of his Wives, and as many of his Daughters, falling into *Cæsar's* Hands.

Q. Against whom did he afterwards turn his Arms?

A. Against the *Belges*, who inhabited a Part of *Gaul*, and were looked upon *Ann. Rom. 697.* as the most powerful People in the whole

Country. Hearing that they had raised near 300,000 Men, he attacked, defeated, and put to flight such Numbers, that the Marshes and Rivers were thereby rendered passable to the *Romans*. Going afterwards against the *Nervii*, a People dwelling in a woody Part of that Country, they attacked *Cæsar* before he had time to encamp; broke the *Roman* Cavalry, and surrounding two of the Legions, killed the Officers, and would have cut them all to Pieces, had not *Cæsar* himself succoured them. The *Nervii* however stood their Ground, till they were all slaughtered. Upon the Fame of *Cæsar's* Victories, many Nations beyond the *Rhine* sent and submitted themselves

themselves to him. The next Year,
Ann. Rom. 697. *Servius Galba*, one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, defeated some Nations inhabiting from the *Rhine* as far as the *Alps*. *Cæsar* himself hearing that the *Veneti*, and several Nations of *Gallia Celtica* had revolted, marched against them, but to no Purpose ; till at last procuring a Fleet, he attacked the *Veneti* by Sea, and overpowered them. *Craffus* another of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, having vanquished some Nations of *Gaul*, *Cæsar* himself marched against the *Morini*, a People near *Calais* ; but they avoided his Fury, by retiring to their Forests and Marshes. This was the third Year's Expedition into *Gaul*.

Q. Whither did *Cæsar* go after this ?

A. To *Lucca* in *Italy*, where he took *Ann. Rom. 698.* up his Head-Quarters. Here a great Concourse of People came to pay him their Respects, there being near 400 Senators, *Praetors* and *Proconsuls*. In this City the *Triumvirate* took new Measures. *Pompey* and *Craffus*, to the great Grief of the Senate, were chosen *Consuls* for the following Year. *Cato* had set up *Domitius* against them ; but *Pompey*, resolving to remove all Obstacles, sent some armed Men against *Domitius* as he was going to the Election, who killed the Slave that carried the Light before them, and dispersed their whole Company ; *Cato* receiving a Wound in his Arm, and *Domitius* hardly escaping with his Life. The People were going to give *Cato* the *Praetorship*, but *Pompey* prevented it. The *Consuls* then continued *Cæsar* five Years longer in his Government of *Gaul*.

Q. What did *Cæsar* in his fourth Year's Expedition ?

A. Upwards of 400,000 *Germans* *Ann. Rom. 699.* having been driven out of their Country by the *Suevi*, the most powerful of all the *Germans*, had come into *Gaul*, and repulsed the *Menapii* from their Habitations. *Cæsar* to prevent their uniting with the *Gauls*, marched directly against them. A Treaty was proposed, but a Party of German Horse falling upon the *Roman Cavalry* as they were foraging, and pursuing them to the very Camp, *Cæsar* advanced against them with his whole Army ; came upon them by Surprize ;

Surprize ; and cut them all to Pieces. He then threw a Bridge over the *Rhine*, marched into *Germany*, and making some Conquests, returned into *Gaul*; breaking down the Bridge behind him. He now resolved to cross into *Britain*; an Enterprize so very hazardous, that few but *Cæsar* would have attempted it. His Pretence for this Expedition (the *Romans* never being at a Loss for one) was, that the *Britons* sent Assistance to the Enemies of the Republic. *Cæsar*, that he might not engage rashly in his Enterprize, enquired of the Merchants who traded with the *Britons*, what kind of People they were; their manner of making War, their Laws, and which were their best Harbours; but these not being able to give him sufficient Information, he dispatched *Volusenus* to view the *British* Coasts; and, in the mean-time, sent for the Ships which he had employed against the *Veneti*. The *Britons* hearing, by the Merchants, of his military Preparations, deputed Ambassadors, who made their Submissions to him. *Cæsar* dismissed them with good Words, and sent *Comius*, whom he a little before had made King of the *Atrebates* in *Gaul*; but he displeasing the *Britons*, they laid him in Irons. *Volusenus* being returned, and giving an Account of his Discoveries, *Cæsar* embarked two Legions, leaving Orders for the Cavalry to follow him, which they did not soon enough. Coming to *Dover* Cliffs (as 'tis generally thought) he saw them covered with Troops. And now staying some Hours till he was joined by other ships, he sailed two leagues farther, and thither the *Britons* sent their Chariots and Cavalry. After moving towards the Coast; as the *Romans* delayed to plunge into the Water (for their Vessels could not come near enough to the Shore) the Standard-bearer of the 10th Legion leaping in, crying out aloud, "Follow me, Fellow-Soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman Eagle into the Hands of the Enemy." The Soldiers, animated by his Example, followed him, and began the Fight. The *Britons* attacked the *Romans*, and fought in the Water with so much Vigour, that the latter would probably have been repulsed, had not *Cæsar* caused some armed Boats to ply about with Recruits, which made the Enemy fall back a little. The *Romans*

made

made so good an Use of this Advantage, and pressed the Britons so vigorously, that at last they put them to Flight. The Britons, being now terrified at the Roman Valour, released *Comius*; and deputing Ambassadors to sue for Peace, *Cæsar* agreed to it, and Part of the Hostages were sent. Peace being concluded four Days after their Landing, the Ships which were transporting the Roman Horse, were drove back by a Storm into the Harbours of *Gaul*. This Tempest likewise shattered *Cæsar's* Fleet lying in the Road. The Britons who were in that General's Camp, hearing of this Loss, and knowing he was in want of Provisions, stole away to their Countrymen, and advised them to break the Treaty. However *Cæsar* refitted his Fleet with incredible Diligence, and got fresh Provisions. In this Interval the seventh Legion being sent out to forage, were surrounded by the Enemy, and over-powered with Numbers; but *Cæsar* flew very seasonably to their Relief, and saved them from being taken or slain; and after continuing some time in Order of Battle, retreated to his Camp. But now the Britons, flushed with this Success, drew together a large Body of Forces, and attacked the Roman Camp, but were vigorously repulsed. The Britons then sent again to sue for Peace, which *Cæsar* granted, because he had no Horse to oppose to those of the Enemy; and putting his Troops into Winter-Quarters, he himself returned to *Gaul*, and went afterwards to *Italy*. During this Interval, the Senate being informed of *Cæsar's* Expedition, decreed a solemn Festival in his Honour, of twenty Days Continuance, although the Advantages he had gained were of little Importance to the Commonwealth. 'Tis thought that *Cæsar* came into Britain about the 26th of August, and left it the 20th of September following.

Q. Did not *Cæsar* again invade Britain?

A. He resolvèd upon a Second Expedition the next Spring, and made all the Preparations necessary for that Purpose; the Britons having given him a fair Pretence for this, by their infringing the Treaty concluded with them. The Time appointed for his Embarkation being come, he put on board, at *Calais* or *Boulogne*, five Legions and

2000 Cavalry, and landed in *Britain* without meeting the least Opposition, and soon after forced one of the *British* Camps successfully. Advice was now brought that his whole Fleet had been very much shattered by a Storm, and some of his Ships cast away, for which Reason he returned towards the Sea Coast, where, with prodigious Labour, he refitted the greatest Part of them in a short time; and sent an Order to *Labienus*, his Lieutenant in *Gaul*, to build more, and send them over when ready; Then leaving a sufficient Force to guard the Camp, he marched out, when News was brought that *Cassibelanus*, King of the *Trinobantes*, (a People who inhabited *Essex* with a Part of *Hertfordshire*) was at the Head of a numerous Army of *Britons*. Whilst the *Romans* were in their March, they were attacked on a sudden by the *British* Horse and Chariots, all which were nevertheless repulsed with great Loss. Some Days after, whilst the *Romans* were employed in their Intrenchments, the *Britons* fell furiously on those who guarded the Camp, and put them into great Disorder. *Cæsar* sent two Cohorts to their Assistance, but they were immediately routed. As the *Romans* were encumbered with heavy Armour, and the *Britons* swift and light armed, the latter fought with much greater Advantage. The next Day *Cæsar* sending out all his Cavalry to forage, with three Legions to guard them, the *Britons* fell on the *Romans* with great Fury; but *Cæsar* advancing with his whole Army, a mighty Engagement ensued, in which the *Britons* were entirely defeated.

Q. What further Opposition did *Cæsar* meet with?

A. He now marched towards the *Thames*, with Intent to penetrate into *Cassibelanus's* Dominions, but found the Enemy posted on the opposite Bank, which was fortified with sharp Stakes. Nevertheless the *Romans* charged the *Britons* with such Vigour, that they were forced to quit their Post, and leave them a free Passage. *Cassibelanus* now reserved only 4000 Chariots, with which he harassed the *Romans* very much, and carried off all the Corn and Cattle in their Route. But now the *Trinobantes*, upon *Cæsar's* Approach, sent Deputies to him to sue for Peace, and to beseech him to take under his Protection

section *Mandubratius* their King, whose Father *Cassibetanus* had murdered, and deprived him of his Dominions. *Cæsar* granted their Request, and several States following the Example of the *Trinobantes*, he besieged the Capital of *Cassibelanus*. This is supposed to be *Verrulamium*, (now *St. Albans*) which was more considerable than *London* in that Age. What the *Britons* called a City, was only a Wood fenced with a Ditch, to defend them from their Enemies. The *Romans* attacked this City with so much Vigour, that the *Britons* fled out of it at one of their Avenues; great Numbers of them being slain. During this Interval, the *Kentish* Men marched, under the Conduct of four Kings, with an Intention to cut off the *Romans*, who were left to guard their Ships. But after an obstinate Fight they were repulsed; and *Cingetorix*, one of their Kings, was taken Prisoner. *Cassibelanus* now obtained a Peace by the Mediation of *Cominius*. By the Conditions of the Treaty, the *Britons* were to pay an annual Tribute to the *Romans*; *Cassibelanus* was to deliver a certain Number of Hostages; and leave *Mandubratius* in quiet Possession of his Kingdom. *Cassibelanus*, who was a very warlike Prince, reigned ten Years after *Cæsar's* Departure. Though this *Roman* had scarce Ships sufficient to transport his Army, he chose to stow his Men on Board those he had, rather than run the Hazard of being surprized by the Autumnal Equinox. He embarked them therefore in the best manner he could, and receiving the Hostages, put to Sea, and arrived safe in *Gaul*. 'Tis conjectured, that *Cæsar's* second Expedition was in *May*, and that he returned to *Gaul* about the Middle of *September* following.

Q. Did not many States in *Gaul* intend to make an Insurrection?

A. Yes; upon which *Cæsar* reinforced his Army with three Legions, and as many Auxiliaries as he could procure Ann. Rom. 701. And now opening the Campaign earlier than ordinary, he soon reduced several Nations of the *Gauls*. He afterwards built a Bridge, and again crossed the *Rhine*, because several of the *Germans* had engaged in a Confederacy with the *Gauls*. Here, after making some considerable

considerable Attempts upon the *Suevi*, who had fled into Woods and impassable Places, he turned his Arms against the *Eubones*: During which the *Sicambri* crossing the *Rhine* on a sudden, set upon a Camp of the Romans, and slew many; but retired, upon Advice that *Cæsar* was approaching. This Conqueror, after invading the *Eubones* once more, summoned a Council of War for the Punishment of the Mutineers; and furnishing his Army with all Necessaries, he withdrew into Winter Quarters; and thus ended *Cæsar's* sixth Year's Expedition.

Q. What have you to observe with regard to the Conduct of this *Roman*?

A. The Commonwealth had never given Birth to a more able Commander; but then his exalted Qualities were obscured by an unbounded Ambition, and an insatiable Desire of amassing Wealth, which he looked upon as the fittest Instrument to give Success to his great Designs. All Things were venal in his Camp ever since his Arrival in *Gaul*; he plundered the Temples of the Gods, and the Territories of the Allies. He looked upon every Thing which contributed to his Exaltation as just and honourable. The Senate would have called him to account, and *Cato* had proposed the delivering of him up to *Ariovistus*; but the Splendor of his Victories, the Affection of the People, and the Money he lavished upon the Senators, changed insensibly all Complaints made against him into Encomiums. His Devastations were therefore ascribed to political Views; Thanks were offered to the Gods for his sacrilegious Actions; and his great Vices by their happy Success, were looked upon as great Virtues. He owed his Conquests to the prodigious Affection his Soldiers had for him, and which prompted them to perform Wonders. No Commander had ever taken more Care of his Soldiers, or bestowed nobler Rewards upon them. However, his Views were not confined wholly to his Army, but extended all the Time he was in *Gaul*, as far as the Assemblies of the People; the most minute Transactions of which were told him. He had powerful Friends and Creatures in these, as well as in the Senate; and he gave prodigious Sums to both, and thereby purchased their Votes, and destroyed their Liberties.

Q. How

Q. How did Pompey behave on this Occasion ?

A. His Friends represented the Danger to which the Commonwealth was exposed. Pompey now blushed to find, that he had suffered himself to be over-reached. He therefore resolved to destroy what he considered as his own Work, and to ruin Cæsar ; and flattered himself that he should be able to effect this, as he had so great an Authority over the Senate ; whilst Cæsar's Hopes were founded on his victorious Army, and the Affections of the People. Their reciprocal jealousy made them soon perceive that they were Enemies, tho' they still appeared as Friends ; but the Death of Julia, Pompey's Wife, and Cæsar's Daughter, who was equally dear to her Husband and to the Romans ; and Crassus, whose Credit and Wealth had enabled him to balance the Authority of both, having been killed in the War against the Parthians ; Cæsar resolved to break off all Correspondence with Pompey, who, fearing nothing so much as a Rival in point of Glory, employed every Artifice to lessen Cæsar's Reputation ; and, to recover the Favour of the People, he caused a splendid Theatre to be built, in which Plays and other Spectacles were exhibited.

Q. Please to inform me of the Particulars of Crassus's Expedition.

A. In his March (in 699) he plundered the Temple at Jerusalem of 10,000 talents ; and throughout his whole Progress appeared much more covetous than valiant. He likewise neglected many Opportunities of attacking the Parthians when unprovided. He was strangely imposed upon by the cunning Insinuations of Abegarus the Osroenian. Two Guides led his Army into a barren Plain, where it was exposed to the Fury of the Parthians, who defeated it entirely. His Son lost his Life in this Engagement, and Crassus would have fled, with the Remainder of his Troops, but was again betrayed ; for Surena the Parthian General, upon Pretence of negotiating a Treaty with Crassus, caused his Soldiers to surround him, whereby he lost his Life ; this was in 701. His Soldiers were miserably slaughtered to the Number of 20,000, and 10,000 were taken Prisoners. The Men who slew him, cut off his Head and his Right-hand and carried

carried them to *Orodes King of Parthia*, who caused melted Gold to be poured down his Throat, crying, " As thou hast ever been so insatiably greedy of Gold, now satisfy thyself with it." This was the *Craffus*, who had overcome the Gladiators headed by *Spartacus*, and Avarice had always been his predominant Passion. One of the Heads of the Triumvirate being thus taken off, this laid the Foundation of the Civil War, which broke out afterwards between the other two.

Q. What had the State of *Rome* at this Time?

A. Corruption was got to an enormous Height. Employments were sold in the most bare-faced Manner. The Chiefs of the several Factions took Bribes publicly, and employed Force and Violence, rather than the Number of Votes, to procure the Election of those, who had thus basely purchased their Interest ; so that no Office was bestowed till it had been contested Sword in Hand, and had cost the Lives of many Citizens. As the contending Parties were sometimes equally powerful, they would separate without making any Choice ; and this Abuse was carried to such Lengths, that *Rome* was eight Months without any Magistrates to govern it. *Pompey* connived at all this, hoping that these InfirmitieS in the State would occasion his being appointed Dictator ; and for this Reason he withdrew for a While, in order that his Friends might suggest the Necessity of his Presence and Authority. The Disorder was heightened by the Death of *Claudius*, whom *Milo*, his professed Enemy, had killed. The Body was brought to *Rome*, and exposed all bloody to the People, who immediately ran to burn down *Milo's* House, but were repulsed. They then returned to the Corpse, and there broke to Pieces all the Seats of the Magistrates, made a Funeral Pile of them, and set Fire to it with so much Fury, that all the magnificent Buildings in which the Senate used to assemble, were burnt with *Claudius's* Body. They afterwards murdered so many People, that no man dared to walk the Streets unarmed.

Q. What did *Pompey* do ?

A. The Senate were going to create him Dictator, but *Cato* prevailed with them to make him Consul (without giving him a Collegue) in order that he might be called

to account for Mal-administration, if there should be occasion for it. Accordingly, the Authority of a Dictator, but under a gentler Name, was conferred on him soon after. Now Forces were decreed him; 1000 Talents were allowed him annually for their Pay; and the Government of Spain, which he managed by his Lieutenants, was continued to him four Years longer. Milo was soon after impeached by Appius, Clodius's Brother; and tho' Cicero undertook his Defence, he yet was banished to Marseilles. Pompey having exercised the Office of Dictator seven Months, took Scipio or Metellus Pius (whose Daughter Cornelia, a beautiful and finely accomplished Lady he had married) for his Colleague, which ingratiated him still more with the Senate. Pompey's Interest being thus strengthened, he imagined that it would be easy for him to triumph over his Competitor; but Cæsar, by his mighty Achievements in War, his great Policy and Industry, and his Bounty at Home, still secured himself a strong Party in the City. He caused to be erected, at a prodigious Expence, a new Forum in Rome. He likewise exhibited Plays for the Diversion of the People, and gave them a grand Entertainment in return for the Honours done to his Daughter Julia. Cæsar gave great Encouragement to learned Men; and in his time flourished, among other fine Writers, the excellent Historian Sallust.

Q. Please to proceed in the Affairs of Gaul.

A. Cæsar had almost compleated his Ann. Rom. 702. Conquests in that Country, when the Disturbances in Rome, and his Absence from it, made many Nations resolve, if possible, to recover their Liberty, and accordingly they chose Vercingetorix for their General. Immediately Cæsar forced his Way over the Mountains thro' deep Snows; and after engaging the Gauls with various Success, at last overthrew Vercingetorix, who retiring to Alesia, or Alaxia, a City of the Mandubii, he was there very closely invested by Cæsar, who raised prodigious Works against this Place, knowing that Succours were marching to the Relief of it. Accordingly he himself was soon after besieged by 250,000 of the choicest Gauls. Nevertheless,

less; by his Trenches, his mighty Lines of Contravallation, and his surprizing Activity and Vigilance, he repulsed the succouring Army; and soon after won the Town, to his great Glory and Reputation, all Places submitting immediately to him. In this manner ended the seventh Year of *Cæsar's Expedition into Gaul*, the most dangerous and most glorious he ever undertook.

Q. Did the *Gauls* make any farther Attempts?

A. They resolved to try the Fate of *Ann. Rom. 703.* Arms once more, and accordingly several of these Nations joined in a Confederacy. Upon this *Cæsar* marched from *Bibracte*, making dreadful Havock in the Territories of the *Bituriges* in *Aquitain*, and subjecting many Nations in those Parts. *C. Fabius* and *Caninus*, two of his Lieutenants, defeated likewise several Parties; and *Cæsar* joining the latter, they invested *Uxellodunum*, a City of the *Cadurci*, very strongly situated. However, he won it with little Loss, by diverting the Course of the Springs which supplied the Town with Water. And now the rest of the Fortresses in *Aquitain* submitted; when marching to *Narbonne*, he put his Army into Winter-quarters, and afterwards received great Services from it in his Civil Wars. Thus ended *Cæsar's eighth and last Year's Expedition into Gaul* and the Countries adjacent, to the great Increase of his Fame, and the Enlargement of the *Roman Domains*.

Q. How did Matters now stand between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*?

A. As the latter had been indulged with so many Favours, *Cæsar* sued likewise for the Consulship, and desired to have the time of his Government prolonged. *Pompey* did not oppose this openly, but he employed his Creatures secretly to defeat, if possible, all *Cæsar's Measures*. *Pompey's View* in this was to oblige *Cæsar* to leave his Government of *Gaul* and the Command of the Army, and to come in Person to sue for the Consulate. But *Cæsar* seeing thro' the Artifice, thought it more adviseable to continue at the Head of his Army. The Senate, to weaken *Cæsar*, command him and *Pompey* to give up two Legions, upon Pretence of sending them against the

the *Parthians*; which Order *Cæsar* complied with, tho' he saw the Design of his Enemies. About this time *Cicero* returned to *Rome* from his Government of *Cilicia*, and demanded the Honours of a Triumph. His Absence had prevented him from siding with either Party, and his present Pretensions obliged him to act as Mediator between both, but no Proposals of Accommodation

would be listened to. *Appius*, who had

Ann. Rom. 704. been sent to *Cæsar*, telling *Pompey* that the whole Army in *Gaul* wished to see him at their Head, he grew more negligent of his Security. And some of his principal Adherents saying, that he would have need of new Recruits, *Pompey* answered, " That if he did but stamp his Foot against the Ground, new Legions would arise out of it." Many of the Senators began now to speak contemptibly of *Cæsar*; and *Cato* himself declared, " That he would oblige him to give in the State of his Accounts, and that he should meet with the same Treatment as *Milo*." However as *Pompey* dreaded the Success and Valour of this great Captain, he endeavoured to draw him from his Government of *Gaul*, without coming to an open Rupture. Accordingly he concerted Measures with the Senate, to nominate a Successor to *Cæsar*. *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, famous for his Eloquence, and of great Parts and Resolution, who was secretly devoted to *Cæsar*, joined in Opinion with the Senate; but said that *Pompey* dought likewise to resign his Government and disband his Armies. *Pompey* offered speciously to comply with this Motion, and *Curio* insisted upon his immediate Performance of it. This Tribune appeared animated against *Cæsar* in no other View but that he might be the less suspected of favouring his Interest; and finding that he could not bring the Assembly into his Measures, he prorogued it.

Q. Was not *Marcellus*, the chief Consul, a Friend to *Pompey* ?

Ann. Rom. 705. A He was professedly such; and accordingly employed an Artifice to get him continued in his Government. *Emilius Paulus*, the other Consul, was strongly in the Interest

terest of *Cæsar*; *Marcellus* collected the Votes of the Senators, separately, with regard to the continuing of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* in their respective Commands; and asked first, whether they were for having *Pompey* resign his Authority, but the greatest Part were for the Negative. He afterwards put it to the Vote, whether they would have a Successor nominated to *Cæsar*, and all declared for the Affirmative. But *Curio*, tho' no longer Tribune, asking, if they were for having both lay down the Command of their Armies, only 22 were for having *Pompey* continued in the Command, and 370 were of a contrary Opinion. But now *Marcellus*, ashamed and exasperated to see his Party so surprizingly reduced, cried, "Let *Cæsar* be your Master, since you desire it so earnestly." And saying, that "since others did not allow him to provide for the Safety of the Republic, he himself would make Use of those Advantages which his Office gave him," he left the Senate, and, with *Lentulus* his Colleague, flew to *Pompey*, who was at that time at one of his Country-seats, where presenting him a Sword; "My Colleague (says he) and I command you to march against *Cæsar*, and to exert yourself with Vigour in Defence of your Country;" *Pompey*, said he, would obey their Orders; but added, with a pretended Moderation, "If I cannot hit upon a better Expedient."

Q. How did *Cæsar* behave?

A. Being informed of whatever was transacting in *Rome*, he wrote frequently to the Senate in the most gentle Terms, but this was all a Mask. He demanded, however, either to have his Government continued as that of *Pompey* had been, or that he might be allowed to sue for the Consulate without going to *Rome*. He then insisted that *Pompey* and himself should give up, at the same time, their Governments and the Command of their Armies. But the Senators, the greatest Part of whom favoured *Pompey*, rejecting all these Proposals, *Cæsar* demanded only the Government of *Illyricum* with two Legions: But *Marcellus* the Consul said, that it was shameful in the Commonwealth, to negotiate with one of his Subjects when under Arms. And *Lentulus*, his Colleague

Collegue, being greatly in Debt, wished for nothing more ardently than a Civil War.

Q. Was not *Cæsar* exasperated at this?

A. He immediately passed the *Alps* at the Head of his third Legion, and stopt in *Ravenna*, whence he sent Letters to the Senate. He therein extolled on his great Achievements, and desired that due Regard might be had to his Services. He offered to resign his Command if *Pompey* would do the same; but threatened to march immediately to *Rome*, if Justice was not done him. These last Words shocked the whole Assembly; upon which *Cæsar* was divested of his Employments, and *Domitius* appointed his Successor. *Cæsar* was afterwards commanded to disband his Army, upon Pain of being declared an Enemy to his Country. *Mark Anthony* the Tribune, *Curio* and *Cassius*, opposed this Decree to no Purpose, and were drove out of the Senate. *Antony*, at his leaving it, vented the most horrid Imprecations against those who were the Cause of all these Evils; and the three Senators in Question, disguising themselves in the Habits of Slaves, fled to *Cæsar*. This Decree of the Senate was as the Trumpet for War; and immediately both Parties took up Arms, upon Pretence of protecting the Laws and Liberties of their Country, but their real Design was to trample upon them. The Senate and Consuls followed *Pompey's* Standards; whilst *Cæsar's* Safeguard lay in the Affection of the People and his victorious Soldiers.

Q. How did *Cæsar* conduct himself on this Occasion?

A. He left *Ravenna* secretly, and went towards his Army, which was advanced near the *Rubicon*, a little River separating *Gallia Cisalpina* (his Government) from the rest of *Italy*. He there found about 5000 Foot and 300 Horse, and with these Forces he began the Civil War. He halted some time on the Banks of this River. But now the Calamities which are inseparable from an intestine War, presented themselves to his Imagination. In the Midst of this Perplexity he reasoned thus with himself, " If I do not cross this River, I am undone; and should I pass it, what Multitudes shall I ruin!" But after reflecting

reflecting on the Animosity of his Enemies, and his own Strength, he plunged into the River, crying aloud, " Let us go, whither we are called by Omens from the Gods, and the Injustice of our Enemies; the Dye is cast, *Jacta est Alea.*" Some Authors relate, that near the Place where *Cæsar* stood, there appeared on a sudden a Man of a surprising Stature, who made excellent Music with a Reed. This uncommon Spectacle inviting many of the Soldiers to him, and a Trumpeter among others; this Man snatched the Trumpet out of his Hand, and sounding a Charge with a very impetuous Blast, leaped immediately into the Water, and got to the opposite Bank. After the Army had crossed the *Rubicon*, *Cæsar* tore his Robe in Presence of the Tribunes of the People; and implored the Assistance of his Soldiers, in a moving Speech, wherein he expatiated particularly on the Injustice of his Enemies, and the Obligation he was under of taking up Arms to defend himself. All the Soldiers cried with loud Acclamations, " That they were ready to revenge the Injuries done their General." He then continued his March with all possible Diligence; arrived at *Ariminum* (*Rimini*) and possessed himself of it. The taking of this Place diffused the utmost Terror over all *Italy*, and the Inhabitants of *Rome* thought him already at their Gates. The Senate met several Times; but so great was the Confusion, they could not come to any fixed Resolusion.

Q. What was *Pompey* doing?

A. Having no Troops, nor any Place to which he could retire, he was under some Disquietudes. The Senate, and *Cato* in particular, now reproached him for having suffered himself to be lulled asleep by the Artifices of *Cæsar*. The People would no longer obey the Magistrates, and *Pompey* now met with Opposition on all Sides. Among others who ridiculed him, *Favonius*, a Philosopher, whose Brain was turned, bid him stamp with his Foot, and call up his Legions as he had promised. *Pompey* fearing that should he oblige the People to take up Arms, they would turn them against him, resolved to carry the Seat of the War farther off, and go to *Apulia*, where the two Legions, which *Cæsar* had resigned to him,

him, were incamped. He observed to the Senate, " That
 " Men of Honour, and true *Romans*, ought to consider
 " every Place where they might be allowed to preserve
 " their Liberties, as their native Country : That these
 " should never want Soldiers, if they would but follow
 " him ; leave *Rome*, and even *Italy*, if they could not
 " maintain themselves in it : He observed, that the Re-
 " public was possessed of considerable Forces in different
 " Parts of the World, and that his Lieutenants were at
 " the Head of a powerful Army of Veterans in *Spain* ;
 " besides the Succours they might expect from such Kings
 " as were in Alliance with the *Romans*." Upon this the
 Consuls, and a great Part of the Senate, generously left
Rome, in the Night-time, with *Pompey*, who being de-
 sirous of protracting the War, in order to assemble a
 greater Number of Forces, embarked at
 Ann. Rom. 706. *Brundusium*, (as we shall presently see)
 and landed at *Dyrachium* or *Durazzo*,
 in *Albania*, in their Way to *Theffaly*. He had left *Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to command in *Apulia* ;
 and *Labienus*, upon some Disgust, was gone over from
Cæsar to *Pompey*. The latter had sent to *Cæsar* to desire
 an Accommodation, but without Effect.

Q. What Progress did *Cæsar* make in *Italy* ?

A. He soon seized upon all *Picenum*, which redoubled
 the Fears of the People at *Rome* ; insomuch that *Lentulus*,
 who was come back to seize upon the public Treasury,
 fled without it. The twelfth Legion having joined *Cæsar*, he marched to *Asculum*, of which *Lentulus* had pos-
 sessed himself, but who now retreated with great Preci-
 pitation. *Cæsar* marched directly after *Pompey* ; and the
 first Place that made any Resistance was *Corfinium*, the
 Capital of the *Peligni*, which was possessed by *Domitius*,
 who had lately levied 20 Cohorts. *Cæsar* made his Ap-
 proaches with two Legions, and was opposed by five Co-
 horts, who were soon repulsed to the Gates of *Corfinium*,
 which thereupon was immediately invested. *Domitius*
 prepared for a vigorous Defence, and wrote to *Pompey*
 for this Purpose, who answering, that he was not in a
 Condition to hazard a Battle, and advising him to retreat,
Domitius concealed this Letter, and told his Soldiers that
Pompey

Pompey was advancing. They, discovering that *Domitius* was going to withdraw himself privately, offered to deliver up both him and the Town to *Cæsar*. *Lentulus*, who was in *Corfinium*, came out of it the next Day, and making his Submission to *Cæsar*, was generously pardoned by him. On the Morrow, causing the Senators, the *Equites*, and their Children, who were in the Town, with the Officers of the Garrison, to come out of it, he protected them from the Insults of the Soldiers; and after taxing them with Ingratitude, gave them all Liberty to go whithersoever they thought proper, having first obliged *Domitius*'s Men to take the military Oath. He stayed seven Days in *Corfinium*. 'Twas now that *Pompey* retreated, with 20 Cohorts, to *Brundusium*, which *Cæsar*, with prodigious Labour, endeavoured to block up. *Pompey* employed his utmost Efforts to ruin the Works, and this occasioned some Skirmishes. The Vessels which had transported the Consuls to *Dyrrachium* being returned, *Pompey* thought fit to make use of them for withdrawing himself. After taking all the Precautions imaginable, he embarked, as silently as possible, his Soldiers on board of them; leaving only some Archers and Slingers on the Walls, with Orders for them to make their Retreat, as soon as his Soldiers should be safe in the Ships. All being got on board, *Pompey* immediately weighed Anchor, and *Cæsar* possessed himself of the Town.

Q. Whither did he intend to go next?

A. Into *Spain*, to drive out *Pompey*'s Veterans, who were commanded by *Afranius* and *Petreius*; but first he designed to march to *Rome*, in order to settle some kind of Government there. He also sent a considerable Force into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. *Cæsar*, on his Way to *Rome*, paid a Visit to *Cicero*; but could not prevail with him, tho' they behaved with great Civility one to the other, to accompany him to that City. Being arrived in it, he formed a Body of such Senators as were there, and called them the Senate. These being assembled, he made a plausible Speech to them in Justification of all his Actions. He then proposed the sending of Ambassadors to *Pompey*; but as none were willing to undertake that Office, he began to think of raising Money; and resolved

to seize upon the public Treasure deposited in the Temple of *Saturn*, but was opposed by *Metellus*. This Treasure consisted of certain Sums of Money, that had been kept in *Rome*, ever since the fatal Wars which the *Romans* had waged against the *Gauls*. *Metellus* insisting " That this Money was sacred ; that the Law forbid any Person to possess himself of it ; and that dreadful Imprecations had been denounced against such a touch-ed it on any Occasion, except when *Rome* was at War with *Gaul* ;" *Cæsar* laughed at these Reasons, and said that having subdued the *Gauls*, he consequently had freed the *Romans* from the Engagement by which they had bound themselves at the depositing of this Treasure. Going now to the Gates of it, and finding them locked, he asked for the Keys, which being refused, he commanded the Gates to be broke open ; and *Metellus* still opposing, *Cæsar* threatened to kill him, crying with a stern Voice ; " Young Man, thou knowest I can as easily do, as say this ;" which Words terrifying *Metellus*, he withdrew. The Conqueror then took 3000 Pound Weight of Gold out of the Treasury. *Cæsar* has disguised this Incident so much in his Commentaries, that we do not there see the least Traces of Injustice in it.

Q. What Success had *Cæsar* in *Spain* ?

A. At his leaving *Rome*, he said, " That he was going to attack an Army without a General ; and that then he would go and combat a General without an Army." *Domitius* being retired to *Marseilles*, and the Inhabitants of that City refusing Entrance to *Cæsar*, he invested it with three Legions, and twelve Ships of War ; when finding the Siege like to be very tedious, he left *D. Brutus* to command the Ships, and *C. Trebonius* to continue the Siege, and set out for *Spain* ; where *Fabius* joining him with three Legions, he now was Master of a noble Army. *Afranius* and *Petreius* were then posted with sufficient Forces, not far from the City of *Ilerda* in *Catalonia* ; and *Cæsar* coming up, a bloody Engagement was fought near the River *Segre*, on which Occasion both Parties ascribed to themselves the Honour of the Victory. *Afranius* seemed to obtain a greater Advantage afterwards ; the News whereof gave such Hopes to

to Pompey's Party in *Rome*, that they waited in great Numbers on *Afranius's* Wife, to congratulate her on her Husband's Success; and many of the Senators, who till then had not declared for either Party, went over to Pompey, and *Cicero* among the rest, tho' he left him soon after. But these flattering Hopes were soon dispersed by *Cæsar's* surprising Diligence, who re-established his Passage over the River, procured Provisions which he much wanted, and joined the Forces that were come to his Assistance from *Gaul*. The Success, with the News of *Brutus's* defeating the *Marseillians* by Sea, spread the Reputation of *Cæsar's* Arms so much, that he won five considerable Towns, and several others capitulated. *Afranius* and *Petreius*, after several Motions of both Armies, resolved to march to *Otagesa*, standing on the *Iberus*, whither they had sent a Detachment, in order to throw a Bridge over that River. But *Cæsar* sent his Cavalry after them, and obliged them to ford the River before they could come at their Bridge; then leaving his Baggage in the Camp, he passed the River with his Infantry, and pursued them with so much Vigour, that they could neither reach their intended Place, nor return to their former Camp. By this means he reduced them to such Extremities, that they were obliged to submit to him without once drawing the Sword. He then dismissed them with great Humanity, and soon possessed himself of all *Spain*. He now set out for *Marseilles*, which capitulated upon his Arrival, during which *Domitius* made his Escape. *Cæsar*, after pardoning the Inhabitants, returned to *Rome*.

Q. How was he received there?

A. With great Satisfaction by most People. *Lepidus* the Praetor created him Dictator; but finding this was not agreeable to the People, he gave up that Title eleven Days after, and caused himself to be elected Consul with *P. Servilius Isauricus*. *Ann. Rom. 706.* He now endeavoured to make as many Friends as possible, and for this Purpose enacted several Laws. The first related to the borrowing of Money for the War; and the second, for recalling those who had been condemned whilst Pompey presided in the

passing of Sentences. Cæsar made several other Ordinances ; after which he set out for *Brundusium* to march against Pompey ; not long before which he received the bad News of the Overthrow and Death of *Curio*, whom he had sent to oppose *Varus*, Pompey's Lieutenant in *Africa*.

Q. What Preparations had Pompey made ?

A. He had engaged all the East in his Interest, and assembled very powerful Armies both by Sea and Land. The latter consisted of 11 Italian Legions ; and his Auxiliaries amounted to 7000 Horse, 3000 Archers, and eight Cohorts of Slingers. All these he spread over *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, to oppose Cæsar's Landing. His Fleet, commanded by *Bibulus*, consisted of 500 large Ships, exclusive of the smaller Vessels. He had drawn great Sums of Money out of *Asia* and *Greece* ; and having gained considerable Advantages over *Dolabella* and *C. Antonius*, who commanded for Cæsar on the Coast of *Illyricum*, great Numbers came over to Pompey ; so that he had above 200 Senators in his Camp, who assembled in the Form of a Senate ; and with these *M. Brutus* had joined, not out of Love to Pompey, but from a Belief that he had the most Justice on his Side. In one of these Assemblies, at *Cato's Motion*, a Decree was made, viz. that no *Roman Citizen* should be put to Death out of the Field, and no Town subject to the *Romans* plundered ; which Law proved of great Service to Pompey.

Q. How did Cæsar proceed ?

A. With undaunted Resolution ; and making *Brundusium* his Rendezvous, he immediately shipped off five of his twelve Legions, making only about 20,000 Foot and 6000 Horse, the rest being obliged to stay behind for want of Ships. 'Twas now the Month of *January*, and very bad Weather. Cæsar landed his Men at *Pbarsalos*, possessed himself of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, and sent to Pompey to offer an Accommodation, but to no Purpose. Pompey marched to *Dyrrachium*, where all his Officers and Soldiers took an Oath, " That they would never abandon their General, but follow him whatsoever his Fortune might be." Both Armies were now encamped not far from the River *Aspus* ; Cæsar waiting with prodigious

digious Impatience for the Succours expected by him. *Bibulus* the Admiral, who guarded the Sea for *Pompey*, dying on it, *Cæsar* resolved upon an Attempt, which nothing but the extraordinary Confidence he had in his Fortune, could excuse. He resolved to go in Person, and enquire into the Reason of the Delay of his Legions, and for that Purpose assumed the Habit of a Slave, and with the utmost Secrecy, went on board a Fisherman's Boat, in order to cross to *Brundusium*, where his Forces lay. A violent Storm arising, and the Pilot being afraid to go forward, *Cæsar* discovered himself, and cried *Quid times? Cæsarem vebis*, i. e. "What art thou afraid of? Thou carriest *Cæsar*." The Sailors being now animated at his Presence, made fresh Endeavours, and got out to Sea, notwithstanding which they were again forced back to shore. At his Landing *Cæsar*'s Soldiers running to him in a very affectionate manner, cried, "That he had disgraced them in going to seek new Forces, since they were sure of conquering alone, so long as he should continue at their Head." Advice was brought soon after, that most of *Cæsar*'s Troops, consisting of three Veteran Legions, one newly levied, and 800 Horse, were arrived under the Command of *Mark Antony* and *Calenus*. There had been many Parleys, and several Skirmishes fought between the two Armies of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; and now the last Overtures for Peace were made, but to as little Purpose as before, upon which *Cæsar* raised his Camp in order to go and join *Antony*, and *Pompey* did the like to prevent him, but without Success, *Antony* re-inforcing *Cæsar* the same Day. Behold now our two great Men at the Head of their respective Armies, ready to dispute for the Empire of the Globe.

Q. What Actions were next performed by them?

A. They both exerted their utmost Skill and Activity, and marched up and down; having been several times in sight of one another, *Cæsar* offering *Pompey* Battle, but had been always refused; and yet few Days passed without Skirmishes, *Cæsar* at last besieging *Pompey*, as it were, in his Camp. During the Winter Season, *Pompey*'s Army had been very well supplied with

Provisions, whilst that of *Cæsar* was in want of all Things; *Cæsar's* Soldiers faring hard upon Roots, often threw some of them among *Pompey's* Men, crying " That they would live upon the Bark of Trees, rather than let *Pompey* escape;" which being told the latter, he said, " that he did not expect to have had wild Beasts to encounter with." However, the Reverse of this was seen in the Summer. One Night *Pompey* receiving advice that *Cæsar* was absent on some Affair, attacked his Works, but was forced back into his Trenches. In this Engagement, *Scæva*, a Centurion, fought with incredible Bravery, he killing two Officers after he had been wounded in the Eye, the Shoulder and Thigh, and received 230 Shot on his Shield; for which gallant Action he was nobly rewarded by *Cæsar*. Soon after he blocked up *Pompey* so close, that he was reduced to the greatest Extremities; his Horse having consumed the Barley, and all the Leaves of the Trees.

Q. How did *Pompey* extricate himself from these Difficulties?

A. Having been inform'd of the State of *Cæsar's* Fortifications, he resolved, if possible, to break through them, and succeeded in his Attempt. He was now arrived at another Place on the Sea-shore, where he had sufficient Forage, and likewise the Conveniency of Shipping. *Cæsar* seeing this, resolved to change the Course of the War, and to encamp close by *Pompey*; but coming to a general Engagement, and being entangled within the Intrenchments of the lately forsaken Camps, they were over-powered by *Pompey's* Forces, and forced to fly with great Precipitation and Loss. *Pompey* pursued his Victory to *Cæsar's* Camp, but durst not attack it, which made the latter own, that he would have been inevitably ruined, had *Pompey* but made a proper Use of his Victory. *Pompey*, on account of this Success, was saluted *Imperator*, and thought himself sure of future Conquest. *Cæsar* now making a Speech to his Soldiers to re-animate them, it made so strong an Impression, that they all cried aloud, " To Arms! Let us be revenged, or die!" He next made so quick a Retreat to *Apulia*, that *Pompey*, who pursued him four Days, could not

not overtake him. After this *Domitius*, one of *Cæsar's* Lieutenants, joined him with three Legions. *Cæsar* then marched directly to *Gomphi*, a considerable Town, and the first in the Way from *Epirus* to *Thessaly*, which refusing to admit him, he besieged it in Form, and stormed it in a few Hours. The taking of *Gomphi* brought all the Towns in *Thessaly* under his Power, except *Larissa*, which had been won by *Scipio* or *Metellus Pius*, who was come to assist *Pompey* at the Head of the Syrian Legions.

Q Where was *Pompey*?

A. In *Thessaly*, he being joined by *Scipio* above-mentioned, whom he received with all possible Honour. *Cæsar* was now arrived in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Pompey's* Army was by this Time encamped. The Approach of these two Armies, in which were the Flower of the Roman Legions, whose Bravery was to determine the Fate of that mighty Empire; the Animosity and Ambition of the Commanders, fired by the Hopes of the Riches as well as Glory that would result from such a Conquest, made every one believe, that nothing but a general Battle could decide this famous Quarrel. *Pompey* being the stronger of the two, his Officers and Soldiers thought themselves so sure of Victory, that they had violent Contests about their sharing the Plunder, &c. But *Cæsar* was employed in a different manner, he exerting his utmost Skill to improve his Soldiers, and inspire them with Vigour and Activity. Hearing that *Pompey's* Army was drawn up in order of Battle, he told his Troops with an Air of the highest Joy, " That the longed wished for Moment was come, in which 'twas in their Power to gain immortal Honour :" Saying which, he advanced with his Troops towards the Field of Battle. *Pompey* was very much disturbed with gloomy Thoughts and ill-boding Dreams, but he nevertheless exhorted his Soldiers to behave manfully; after which *Labienus*, and *Pompey* himself, took a solemn Oath not to return to the Camp without obtaining the Victory. *Pompey's* Army, according to *Plutarch*, consisted of 45,000 Foot, and 7000 Horse; and *Cæsar's* but of 22,000 Foot, and not much more than 1000 Horse. But *Florus* computes upwards of 300,000 Men on both Sides, exclusive of the auxiliary Forces of

several Kings, and the Succours of the Senate and Nobility. However this be, 'tis agreed that Pompey's Forces were double the Number of Cæsar's.

Q. What was the issue of this famous Battle?

A. As the Armies approached, the two Generals rode from Rank to Rank, to animate their respective Soldiers. Pompey expatiated chiefly on the Justice of his Cause, and the Superiority of their Numbers; whilst Cæsar observed only, that he had employed his utmost Endeavours to obtain an honourable Peace; and therefore that the slaughter which would be made, must be imputed wholly to his Enemies. He then gave the Signal for Battle, the Word on Pompey's Side being *Hercules the Invincible*; and that on Cæsar's *Venus the Victorious*. Both Armies engaging, a bloody Battle ensued, which for some Time seemed equal. Pompey's Cavalry charging with great Vigour, they soon obliged the Enemy to give Ground; when Cæsar advancing with his *Corps de Reserve*, and attacking the Faces of the Enemy with their Pikes, the Knights were so afraid of deforming their delicate Faces, that, on the rallying of Cæsar's Cavalry, they were all broken in an Instant. Cæsar pursued the Advantage with so much Vigour, and fresh Troops poured in so fast on those of Pompey, who made a stout Resistance, that they at last were over-powered. The Auxiliaries began the Flight, tho' Pompey's Right Wing still maintained their Ground with great Bravery. But Cæsar ordering his Men to cry aloud, "Kill the Foreigners, but save the Romans;" the latter threw down their Arms and received Quarter; but a dreadful Havock was made of the Foreigners, who were flying with the utmost Speed.

Q. Did not Cæsar pursue his Victory?

A. He commanded his Soldiers to go on, and seize the Enemy's Camp; and though it was very sultry Weather, yet seeing their General march on Foot before them, they again pursued the Enemy, who were fled to the adjacent Mountains. Pompey did not now perform any thing worthy of his exalted Reputation, but mounting on Horse back, went to *Larissa*, and from thence to the Sea-shore. The rich Moveables and other Things which were found in Pompey's Camp, plainly shewed

shewed how much Luxury had prevailed in it. *Cæsar* exhorting his Soldiers not to amuse themselves with the Plunder of the Camp, they forced the Enemy to leave the Mountains, and retire to *Larissa*; whither pursuing them with four Legions, they retreated to a high Hill, where their Water being cut off, they were obliged to capitulate; some Senators only escaping, it being dark Night. The next Morning, the Enemy coming down into the Plain sued humbly for Pardon, which *Cæsar* immediately granted them, and would not suffer his Soldiers to plunder their Baggage. In this memorable Battle 15,000 of the Enemy were slain, and 24,000 surrendered themselves Prisoners of War.

Q. What became of *Pompey* ?

A. This glorious Commander was now obliged, with a few Friends, to retreat to a Fisherman's Bark, from whence he got on board another Vessel, and made all the Sail he could. His Misfortunes had now depressed him to such a Degree, that he could not make Use of those Advantages he had at Sea, where he was still Master of a powerful and victorious Fleet. He sailed to *Amphipolis*, and then to *Lesbos*, where he took in his Wife, who bewailed her sad Fate with a Flood of Tears. At last *Pompey* got to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, where he expected to meet with a Secure Asylum; he having been the Protector of *Ptolemy Auletes*, Father to the Reigning Monarch, and therefore was persuaded that the Son would assist him with a powerful Force. *Ptolemy Auletes* left two Sons and two Daughters behind him, and by his last Will had bequeathed his Kingdom to his eldest Son and Daughter, with Orders for them to marry according to the Custom of the Country, and to sway the Sceptre in Conjunction. As they were both Minors, he appointed the Senate of *Rome* their Guardians. The Son's Name was *Ptolemy*, and the Daughter was the famous *Cleopatra*.

Q. What Reception did *Pompey* meet with ?

A. *Ptolemy* was now at War with his Sister *Cleopatra*, and both their Armies lay near *Pelusium*. *Pompey*, as he drew near the Coast, sent to *Ptolemy*, desiring that Leave might be granted him to enter his Kingdom. The young King consulting with *Pothinus* the Eunuch, and

Acbillas, his chief Ministers, and *Theodotus* his Praeceptor ; after a Variety of Debates, the latter declared, that the safest Method for them would be to murder *Pompey* ; and accordingly *Acbillas*, *Septimius*, a Roman Tribune, with a few others, were appointed to execute that Horrid Deed. They now went out in a little Bark, in order to receive *Pompey* ; all the Troops, with *Ptolemy* at their Head, being drawn up along the Shore, as tho' in Honour of that Illustrious Roman. The treacherous *Septimius* then gave his Hand, in his Sovereign's Name, to *Pompey* ; inviting him to a King, whom he might look upon as his Son. *Pompey* then turning towards *Cornelia* his Wife, who already bewailed his Death ; and repeating to her the following Verse of *Sophocles*, " Every Man who goes into a Tyrant's Court, becomes his Slave, tho' he went thither free," he stepped into the Bark ; but no sooner was it come near to the Shore, than the Wretches murdered him in the King's Sight ; cut off his Head, and cast his Body on the Shore, where it met with no other Burial but what one of his Freed-men, assisted by an old Roman, who was there by Accident, gave him. These getting together some Pieces of a shattered Boat for a Pile, gave him the last Rites. Such was the End, and such the Burial of the mighty *Pompey*, who, after escaping the most remarkable and most imminent Dangers, died at last miserably by the Hands of a few Villains, in the 58th Year of his Age. *Cornelia*, who saw her Husband's tragical End, shrieked in a most lamentable manner ; and the Mariners on board the Vessel crowding all the Sail they could, escaped the Pursuit of the Egyptians.

Q. Whither did *Cæsar* go ?

A. In Pursuit of *Pompey*, and arrived Ann. Rom. 706. soon in *Egypt*, imagining that Roman was fled thither. He had taken but few Troops with him, leaving the rest of the Army in *Greece* and *Asia Minor*, under his Lieutenant-Generals with Orders for them to establish his Authority in those Countries. So great was his Confidence, that he was not afraid of landing at *Alexandria*, which he found in great Confusion ;

Confusion ; and was there informed of Pompey's Murder. *Theodotus*, thinking to do him an extreme Pleasure, gave him the Head of the late illustrious Fugitive. He wept ; turned away from the shocking Spectacle, and caused the Head to be buried with the usual Solemnities. But what are we to think of these Tears ? He who had sacrificed so many Thousands to his Ambition, weeps when he is told of the Murder of a Man whose Destruction he had vowed, and whose Death secures to him the Empire of the Universe. Was he troubled that Pompey was brought to this fatal End by any other Hand but his ; or that it was not in his Power to insult his Misfortunes, and get him to adorn his Triumph ? Was it from a Principle of Generosity that he regretted a Man who had so long been odious to him ? How suspicious was this Behaviour of *Cæsar* ? but be this as it will, he gave a gracious Reception to all the Adherents of Pompey, and exerted his Liberality towards them. As the Tumults in *Alexandria* increased daily, he ordered his Legions to come to him from *Asia* with all possible Diligence ; and in the mean time required the Payment of the Remainder of 6000 Talents, which *Ptolemy Auletes* had promised him for seating him on the Throne. *Potbinus*, young *Ptolemy*'s Prime Minister, employed all the Artifices imaginable, to render *Cæsar* odious to the Populace ; and the haughty manner in which he cited the King and his Sister *Cleopatra* before him, in order to settle their Divisions, made him compleatly so. At the same time he had commanded them to disband their respective Armies, and appointed Counsel on both Sides to plead their Cause before him. *Cleopatra* knowing *Cæsar*'s Foible, imagined that her Presence would be the most persuasive Advocate she could employ, and therefore desired Leave to appear before him ; or, according to other Historians, *Cæsar* himself intreated her to come and plead her Cause in Person. Accordingly this Prince set out ; and being attended only by *Apollodorus of Sicily*, went in a little Boat, and arrived under the Walls of the Castle of *Alexandria* at dark Night. Finding that it would be almost impossible for her to enter undiscovered, she thought of the following Stratagem.

Stratagem. Getting into a Bundle of Cloaths, and other Necessaries, *Apollodorus* covered her; and fastening the Packet with Leathern Thongs, threw her over his Shoulder and carried her in this manner through the Castle-Gate into *Cæsar's* Apartment, who was not displeased at this Artifice. The first Sight of so exquisite a Beauty, wrought all the Effect on him which *Cleopatra* had hoped.

Q. What was done with *Ptolemy*?

A. Appearing the next Day before *Cæsar*, and hearing that *Cleopatra* was even in his Apartment in his Palace, and had ingratiated herself with him, he ran out of it in a frantic manner; and in the open Street, tore off his Diadem, broke it to Pieces, and threw it on the Ground; crying to the People with Floods of Tears, that he was betrayed. In an Instant the whole City was in an Uproar; and the Populace, with *Ptolemy* at their Head, ran with the utmost Fury towards *Cæsar*, who found it a very difficult Matter to pacify them. The next Day he pronounced, pursuant to the Will, in Presence of the People, that *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* should

reign jointly over *Egypt*; and that the

Ann. Rom. 707. younger *Ptolemy* and *Arsinoe* should sway the Sceptre of *Cyprus*. This Sentence pleased every one, *Pothinus* excepted, who having occasioned the Divisions between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, was afraid that their Reconciliation would prove fatal to him. He therefore insinuated to the People, that *Cæsar's* real Design was to seat *Cleopatra* singly on the Throne, which inspiring the People with fresh Hatred against that Roman, *Pothinus* sent for *Acbillas*, who was at the Head of 20,000 Men, in order that he might drive *Cæsar* out of *Alexandria*. *Acbillas* attacked him, but being repulsed, he endeavoured to cut off *Cæsar's* communication with the Sea. However, he prevented this Design, burning the *Egyptian* Fleet, and possessing himself of *Pbaros*, a Tower of wonderful Structure, into which he put a Garrison. Some of the Ships that were set on fire, ran so near to the Port, that catching some Houses, it spread to the District or Quarter called *Bruchion*. 'Twas then that the famous Library, which had been collected by

so many Kings, and contained 400,000 Volumes, was destroyed. What a Loss did the Learned sustain on this Occasion!

Q. How did *Cæsar* proceed in this dangerous War?

A. He sent into all the neighbouring Countries for Succour; and, among others, to *Domitius Calvinius*, who had been left his Commander in *Asia Minor*. In the mean time, to prevent his being overpowered by Numbers, he fortified the District possessed by him. *Ptolemy* was still in *Cæsar's* Hands; and *Pothinus*, holding a secret Intelligence with *Acbillas*, gave him Advice of whatever was transacting, and exhorted him to pursue the War with Vigour: But at last some of his Letters being intercepted, *Cæsar* put him to Death. *Ganymedes*, another Eunuch, a Man of great Cunning and Abilities, who educated *Arsinoe*, fearing the same Fate with *Pothinus*, fled with that Princess to the Camp of the *Egyptians*, where she was proclaimed Queen. And now *Ganymedes*, in order to supplant *Acbillas*, charged him with delivering up to *Cæsar* the Fleet which the *Romans* had burnt; and causing him to be put to Death, succeeded him in the Command of the Army, and likewise acted as Prime Minister. Immediately he corrupted all the fresh Water with which *Cæsar* was supplied, and by that Means reduced him to the greatest Extremities, to which he nevertheless soon applied a Remedy, by digging a great Number of Wells. Upon Advice that the Legions sent by *Calvinius* were coming, *Cæsar* advanced with his whole Fleet to bring it to *Alexandria*, which fighting with another sent out by *Ganymedes*, the *Romans* had the Advantage, and arrived safe in the above mentioned City. The *Egyptian* assembling another Fleet, and sailing into the Port of *Alexandria*, the Inhabitants of that City ran to the Tops of their Houses, in order to be Spectators of this Engagement, the Loss of which must have been fatal to the *Romans*; but they, by the Assistance of the *Rhodians*, were again victorious.

Q. What was *Cæsar's* next Attempt?

A. He now attacked the Island of *Pharos*; but after gaining several Advantages in it, was repulsed with the Loss of more than 800 Men; and himself had like to have perished.

perished. The Vessel, on board of which he intended to fly, being ready to sink by being overloaded, *Cæsar* leaped into the Sea, and with great Difficulty, swam to the Vessel that lay nearest him. In his Swimming, he held his Papers with one Hand, and made his Way with the other, and by that Means preserved them from being wet. But now the *Alexandrians*, pretending a Desire of Peace, prevailed with *Cæsar*, (who knew he should not run any Hazard in this) to deliver up to them *Ptolemy*. The *Roman*, before he dismissed that King, had exhorted him to inspire his Subjects with pacific and equitable Sentiments, which he promised to do in the most affectionate manner, and with Tears in his Eyes. However, no sooner was he got at the Head of his Troops but he began the War again with greater Vigour than ever. Another Naval Engagement was fought, wherein *Cæsar* again vanquished the *Egyptians*, about which Time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a Man of noble Birth, of undaunted Valour, and great Fidelity to him, arrived with Succours. He had brought a considerable Army, in the raising of which *Antipater* the *Idumean* had been very serviceable. He not only re-inforced him with 3000 *Jews*, but also prevailed with several Princes of *Arabia* and *Cœlosyria*, and the free Cities of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, to send him Troops. *Mithridates*, accompanied by *Antipater*, who exerted himself with prodigious Bravery, took *Peltusum*. In their March from thence to *Alexandria*, they were assisted with Provisions by the *Jews*. *Ptolemy* having detached a flying Camp to oppose his Passage over the *Nile*, the *Egyptians* were routed; a great Slaughter was made of them, and their Camp seized. But now *Ptolemy* advanced with his whole Army to overpower the Conquerors, and *Cæsar* marched forward in order to support them. The Armies soon came to a decisive Battle, in which *Cæsar* gained a compleat Victory. *Ptolemy* attempting to save himself by Flight in a Boat on the *Nile*, was drowned; after which *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* submitted to the Conqueror.

Q. What followed after this?
A. *Cæsar* entering *Alexandria* without Opposition, bestowed the Crown of *Egypt* on *Cleopatra*, and *Ptolemy*, begetting her

her other Brother jointly, which was really giving it to that Princess solely, the young Prince being but eleven Years of Age. *Cæsar* was passionately fond of *Cleopatra*, who brought him a Son called *Cæsarion*, whom *Augustus* afterwards put to Death. About the Beginning of the *Alexandrian War*, the Senate of *Rome*, the greatest Part of whom were now got together, voted *Cæsar* great Honours. He was appointed Consul for five Years together, created Dictator for a Year, and had the Power of a Tribune for Life. He made *Mark Antony* his Master of the Horse, and being dispossessed of his Office, was created Consul. The chief Cause of the Murmurs against *Antony*, was his assuming *Ann. Rom. 707.* too great Authority; which, with the outrageous Behaviour of *Trebellius* and *Dolabella* the Tribunes, raised great Disturbances in the City. *Cæsar* was now very much wanted there, and he might have been much sooner in *Rome*, had he not been with-held by the Charms of the beautiful *Cleopatra*, he staying nine Months in *Egypt*. He used to pass away whole Nights with her in revelling. Sailing up the *Nile* with her, accompanied by a large Fleet, he would have gone as far as *Ethiopia*, had not his Army refused to follow him. He intended to carry *Cleopatra* to *Rome*, and marry her, for which he intended to get a Law enacted. *Cæsar*, before he left *Alexandria*, confirmed the several Privileges which the Jews enjoyed, as a Reward for their succouring him; and also raised a Column, on which he caused all those Privileges to be engraved, together with the Decree that confirmed them. *Ptolemy* lived but till fifteen Years of Age, he being poisoned by *Cleopatra*, who afterwards governed *Egypt* singly.

Q. What was it that made *Cæsar* leave *Egypt*?

A. To make War on *Pharnaces*, King of the *Cimmerian Bosporus*, and Son to the great *Mithridates*; the Occasion of which was this: *Domitius Calvinus* having but one Legion left, *Pharnaces* resolved to attack him, which he did with Success, imagining that *Cæsar* would lose his Life in *Egypt*; and hoping to recover the Kingdoms of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, of which *Pompey* had dispossessed his Father. Accordingly he raised a

powerful

powerful Army, entered the lesser Armenia, and drove from thence *Deiotarus*, Tetrarch of that Country. He then seized on Cappadocia, in spite of *Ariobarzanes*, and a little after, on the Kingdom of *Pontus*. *Cæsar*, instead of returning to *Rome*, went directly to *Armenia*, and from thence into *Pontus*, where he cut to Pieces the Army of *Pbarnaces*, tho' he had endeavoured to be reconciled to him. *Pbarnaces* flying, and endeavouring to break into *Bosporus*, was repulsed and slain by *Asander*, who had revolted from him; an End worthy of a Man so rebellious to his Father, and ungrateful to his Friends. The Victory above-mentioned of *Cæsar* was so sudden, that *Florus* compares him, on this Occasion, to a Thunderbolt, which rushes forward, and strikes in the same Moment. That the Conqueror, to denote the Swiftness of his Victory, wrote only these three Words to a Friend: *Veni, vidi, vici*; that is, *I came, I saw, I vanquished*. And indeed *Cæsar* was not only skilful in gaining Conquests, but knew how to make the best Advantage of them, in which he greatly surpassed *Hannibal*. Not satisfied with routing his Enemies, he always pursued the most inconsiderable Remains of them, before they could recover from their Surprize. He did not give over after the winning of some Battles, but endeavoured to quite finish a War, till which he looked upon all his former Achievements as nothing. *Deiotarus* had done signal Services to the *Romans* in all the Wars of *Asia*; and imagining *Pompey's* Party to be that of the People of *Rome*, had joined with him in the Battle of *Pbarsalia*, against *Cæsar*, who afterwards reprimanded him very severely on that Account. But *Deiotarus*, to ingratiate himself with the Victor, afterwards assisted him, to the utmost of his Power; begged Pardon for what he had done at *Pbarsalia*; and, to denote his Humility, divested himself of his Royal Robes on that Occasion. *Cæsar* made him re-assume them, pardoned his past Faults, and confirmed to him and his Son the Title of King: But he obliged *Deiotarus* to attend him in the War against *Pbarnaces*, and afterwards deprived him of *Armenia*, and part of *Galatia*.

Q. Whither

Q. Whither did *Cæsar* go now ?

A. He set out for *Rome* with incredible Diligence, after settling Affairs in these Parts as well as the Time would permit. Upon his Arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero*, and many others of *Pompey's* Party, went to pay him their Compliments, and met with a most gracious Reception ; which Affability of his ingratuated him so much with the People of *Rome*, that he soon quieted the Commotions there. The Time of his Dictatorship being expired, he was elected Consul with *Æmilius Lepidus*.

However, he could not stay long in *Ann. Rom. 708. Rome* ; the Remains of *Pompey's* Party

having rallied in *Africa*, under *Scipio*, *Cato*, and *Juba*, King of *Numidia*, &c. *Cæsar*, with his usual Speed, landed in *Africa*, with only an inconsiderable Force, but the rest followed soon after. He was in great Want of Provisions for some Time, but this Difficulty he conquered with his usual Resolution. After various Movements and smaller Engagements, in which *Cæsar* was sometimes in great Danger, he resolved, if possible, to come to a decisive Battle. For this Purpose, he invested the City of *Tbapsus*, imagining that *Scipio* would come to its Relief, which accordingly happened ; for *Scipio* joining King *Juba*, and encamping near *Cæsar*, they soon came to a general Battle, in which he totally defeated all the Enemy's Forces, and seized all their Baggage, with little Loss on his Side. *Tbapsus*, *Adrumentum*, and *Zama*, immediately surrendered. *Juba* would have retired, with *Petreius*, to *Zama*, which was the strongest City in his Dominions, where he had left his Wife, his Children, and Treasure ; but the Inhabitants refused him Admittance, and gave his Treasures to *Cæsar*. *Juba* resolutely determined not to survive this Misfortune, and agreeing with *Petreius* that they should kill one another, the latter fell dead on the Spot ; whilst *Juba*, who had received only a slight Wound, obliged a Slave to dispatch him. *Afranius* and *Sylla* were defeated and taken Prisoners by *Sitius*, General of the Army of *Bogud*, who had joined *Cæsar*. *Scipio* having embarked for *Spain*, was met by *Sitius's* Fleet, which sunk his Galley, and all who were on Board of it.

Q. What

Q. What became of *Cato* ?

A. He retreated to *Utica*, and there established a Kind of Senate, consisting of 300 Romans. He at first resolved to sustain a Siege ; but finding the Inhabitants much divided in their Opinions, he quitted that Design for another. He besought his Friends, some to save themselves by Sea, and others to rely on *Cæsar's* Mercy ; when embracing them all with a more than usual Tenderness, he discoursed with them on moral Subjects, defending the following Maxim, “ That the Virtuous are only happy and free, and the Wicked are only wretched and Slaves.” His Sons suspecting his Design, at Supper, took his Sword from him, which he did not miss when he rose ; but throwing himself on the Bed, read *Plato's* Dialogue concerning the Immortality of the Soul. At last he enquired for his Sword, and it not being brought him so soon as he desired, he fell into a great Passion ; his Friends, at the same time, imploring his Stay among them, as their Benefactor, their Genius and Guardian. At last receiving his Sword, he felt the Point of it, and said, “ I am now my own Master.” He then read again, and afterwards fell into a sound Sleep. But just as Day began to break he stabbed himself ; but this not dispatching him, he staggered and threw down a Table. The Noise brought in his Slaves, his Sons, and Friends, who found him weltring in his Gore. His Physician put up his Bowels, and closed his Wound ; but *Cato* recovering his Spirits, tore open his own Bowels, and rushed out of Life with Fury, Rage, and Indignation. His Death compleatly ended *Cæsar's* War in *Africa*. *Cato* was famous for his Justice, Severity and Magnanimity ; but his End was unworthy the Precepts of his Philosophy and the Constancy of his Life.

Q. What did *Cæsar* after this ?

A. After subjecting *Africa* to the *Roman* Laws, selling the Possessions of King *Juba*, and dividing the Produce of it among his Soldiers, he returned to *Rome*, and triumphed four Times in one Month, leaving an Interval of some Days between every Triumph. His first was that of the *Gauls* ; his second that of *Egypt*, in which was *Arsinoe* loaded with Chains ; his third that of *Pontus*

sus and King Pharnaces ; his fourth that of Africa, which the younger Juba adorned. All these Triumphs, which were exceeding magnificent, differed very much ; but that of the Gauls was the most splendid, Cæsar going to the Capitol by Torch-Light ; and forty Elephants ranged on each Side, carrying great Candlesticks filled with Flambeaux. After this Cæsar paid his Soldiers, and rewarded them with great Liberality ; and, for their Retreat gave them Lands in several Places separated from Italy. He likewise distributed a prodigious Quantity of Corn among the People ; then entertained the whole City at above 20,000 Tables, and caused a great Number of Shows to be exhibited for their Diversion. Many Honours were now conferred upon him, all being extremely forward to prefer him, some out of Love, and others out of Fear ; but Cæsar's extraordinary Kindness to both Parties removed all their Anxieties ; for tho' he had been brought up under his Uncle Marius, he yet was not fired with that inflexible Hatred, nor that cruel Spirit of Revenge which prompted that Roman to shed so much Blood. He began to settle the Commonwealth, enacted several new Laws ; and committed the Powers of Judicature to Senators and Knights only. He reformed the Calendar, and, with the Assistance of the ablest Astronomers, regulated the Year according to the Course of the Sun ; allotting to each Year 365 Days, and adding one Day more to every fourth Year, which was called the *Bisextile* or *Leap-Year*. This is now called the *Julian Account* and *Old Style*, in Opposition to the *New Style*, or *Gregorian Account*. At this Time flourished Catullus, a very correct, but unchaste Poet, and famous for his Epigrams.

Q. What was the last War in which Cæsar was engaged ?

A. That against Pompey's two Sons, who had a powerful Army in Spain. They also had very good Officers, and among others Labienus, for which Reason Cæsar was forced to march in Person against them. He had just before been re-elected Consul (with Lepidus) and Dictator for another Year. Cæsar arrived in Spain with his usual Diligence.

Diligence. *Cneius Pompeius* was then besieging *Ulla*; and *Sextus*, his younger Brother, was in *Corduba* with a strong Garrison. *Cæsar* advanced towards the latter City, upon which *Cneius* raised the Siege of *Ulla*, and marched to oppose his Enemy, who finding he could not draw him to a Battle, invested and took another City of great Importance. The *Pompeys* having endeavoured, but in vain, to throw Succours into it, and fearing the rest would revolt, resolved to come to a general Engagement; their Army being now encamped on the Plains of *Munda*, whither that of *Cæsar* came not long after. A Battle was soon fought, *Cæsar's* Soldiers being excited from the Hopes that this would be the last, and crown all their Toils: And those of the *Pompeys* being animated by Despair; most having formerly had their Lives given them, and therefore expected no Quarter. The first Onset was made with the utmost Bravery, and *Cæsar* had never been in such Peril before. He was more melancholy than usual, whether it were that he reflected on the Fickleness of all terrestrial Things, or began to distrust so long a Series of Prosperity; or that, seeing himself what *Pompey* had once been, he was fearful of meeting with the same Fate. But now there happened what *Cæsar* had never seen, or believed could ever come to pass; his Veteran Soldiers, after 14 Years Service in the Field, gave Ground and would have fled, had not Shame prevented them. *Cæsar* exasperated at their Cowardice, leaped from his Horse, and ran to them with the utmost Fury. He himself stopt the Fugitives, re-animated them, flew from Rank to Rank, and was every where in an Instant. Some relate, that so great was his Despair, that he was going to kill himself. But on a Sudden, his Soldiers calling up their former Courage, forced from the Enemy a Victory which Fortune seemed to have allotted them, he defeating the Enemy, and killing 30,000 of them on the Spot. He had been exposed to so much Danger in this Battle, that he often declared, " That on all other Occasions he had fought for Glory, but at *Munda* to save his Life." All the Standards of the Enemy were taken, and *Labinus* and *Varus* lost their Lives in the Engagement. *Cneius*, with a small Party of Horse, escaped to *Carteia*, from

from whence, hoping to save himself by Sea, he was forced by *Didius*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, to return on Shore, and being besieged in a Tower, was attacked with so much Fury, that he was forsaken by his Followers, and killed in a Cave where he had concealed himself. As for *Sextus* his Brother, he escaped from *Corduba*, and could not be found by *Cæsar* to whom all *Spain* now submitted.

Q. What followed after this Victory?

A. He returned to *Rome* in Triumph, which yet was not attended with the Acclamations of the People; they grieving to see the Memory of their beloved *Pompey* insulted, and his Family almost extirpated. *Cæsar* had conquered the World, and overthrown all his Enemies, an End being now put to the Civil War, which, tho' it had not continued much above four Years, had yet been so destructive to the People of *Rome*, that in the *Lustrum* a little before *Cæsar's* last Expedition, there were found but 150,000 Heads of Families; whereas in the preceding *Census* there were 320,000. Extraordinary Honours were now heaped on *Cæsar*, and unlimited Authority bestowed on him, so that the Commonwealth had now but the Shadow of Liberty left. He was nominated Consul for ten Years, and perpetual Dictator. He had the august Title of *Pater Patriæ* (Father of his Country) and the Name of *Imperator* or Emperor; not (as formerly) in the Sense of Conqueror, but as signifying the greatest Authority in the Republic; and this was the Beginning of the Imperial State, tho' it was not completely settled till some Years after. His Person was declared sacred and inviolable, so that now the Magisterial Offices seemed to center in him. To this Profusion of Honours was added, the Right of Assisting at all Games in a gilded Chair, and with a golden Crown on his Head. It was farther enacted by this Decree, that, after his Death, this Crown and Chair should be exhibited in all public Spectacles, to eternize his Memory. From this Time the Consulate grew cheaper, and few enjoyed it a whole Year; particularly when all its Power and ancient Dignity was soon after swallowed up by the Imperial Power. *Cæsar* made a Show as if he would

would concern himself only in the Election of Consuls, and leave that of all other Magistrates to the People. He now admitted Persons of all Conditions into the Senate, by which Means it was swelled to 900. He also increased the Number of the Praetors, Quæstors and Aediles, and bestowed great Sums of Money and Lands on his Friends and Adherents.

Q. What was next done by *Cæsar* ?

A. The following Year he again en-

Ann. Rom. 710. tered upon the Consulate with *Antony*, whom he appointed his Master of the Horse; after which he applied himself more closely to the Busines of the State. His first Care was to pardon all who had taken up Arms against him; and tho' a Multitude of Libels were now published against him, he did not so much as enquire after the Authors. He intended to build a magnificent Temple and Theatre in *Rome*. He rebuilt *Carthage* and *Corinth*, and sent Colonies to both. He undertook to level several Mountains, to drain several Marshes, and empty Lakes in *Italy*; and designed to dig through the Isthmus of *Peloponnesus* by *Corinth*. He then meditated an Expedition against the *Parthians*, to revenge the Death of *Crassus*; afterwards to pierce into *Scythia*; force his Way through *Germany* and *Gaul*; and so return to *Rome*; but these mighty Projects were rendered abortive. Most of the Senators, in their lavishing such extraordinary Honours upon him, did it in no other View but to make him still more odious to the People, and have the better Opportunity of ruining him. The great Men, particularly those who had followed *Pompey's* Fortune, and who could not pardon *Cæsar* for the Life they had received from his Clemency in the Plains of *Pbarsalia*, reproached themselves secretly for his Benefactions, as being purchased at the Price of their Liberty; and those whom he imagined to be his best Friends, accepted of his Favours in no other View but to have the better Opportunity of destroying him.

Q. Did not the People begin to be very uneasy at *Cæsar's* Conduct?

A. They

A. They were afraid that he intended to assume the Title of King: And indeed his Friends employed their utmost Endeavours to procure it him. They first made Religion a Handle on this Occasion, and accordingly spread a report among the Populace, that 'twas expressly declared by the *Sibylline* Oracles, " That if the Romans sent a King against the *Parthians*, they would certainly subdue them, but that these would otherwise be invincible." After this, being desirous of sounding the People, his Flatterers saluted him with the Title of King, as he was returning one Day to *Rome*. The People murmured at this, upon which he refused that Title; and yet withdrew dissatisfied, because they had not contradicted him, when he rejected the Salutation made him by his Favourites. However, these were not disheartened, for during the *Lupercalia* (a Feast of Purification) *Mark Antony* went up to *Cæsar*, and offered to set the Diadem on his Head. A small Party of Hirelings applauded, but the People remained in a deep Silence. He then put back *Mark Antony*, at which they all set up a great Shout. *Mark Antony* attempted this a second Time, but with as little Success. However, what could not be performed on the Original was done on the Copies; Crowns being fixed on the Heads of his Statues. But two of the Tribunes removed them; impeached those who had first bestowed the Title of King on *Cæsar*, and imprisoned them. The People followed them with never-ceasing Acclamations for this Action; for which *Cæsar*, on the contrary, divested them of their Employments. Another Circumstance which gained him much Ill-will, was, his not rising up when the Senate came in a Body to decree him certain new Honours. But notwithstanding this apparent Disgust, *Cæsar* was so careless, as to neglect the Means of securing himself against his Enemies; he disbanding the Spanish Guards and contenting himself with the Protection of his Friends, which very much facilitated the Attempt that was afterwards made on his Life.

Q. I desire to know the Particulars of this.

A. *Cæsar's* Enemies detested his Ambition; and the most zealous Republicans resolved to die, rather than be Eye-Witnesses

Witnesses to the total Ruin of their Liberty, and there-upon upwards of threescore Senators conspired his Death. *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whom *Cæsar* had appointed Praetors that Year, were at the Head of this Combination. *Brutus* gloried in descending from the antient *Brutus*, whom the Commonwealth considered as its Founder: And a Love of Liberty had been transmitted to him, with the Blood of his Ancestors. "He was, like *Cæsar*, addic-
" ed to Letters and Arms: but then he never drew his
" Sword but with a Design to serve his Country;
" nor read with any other View but to subdue his
" Passions; so that he had from Books rather a Habit of
" Life than a Faculty of Speech. In his Thoughts, as
" well as Actions, he was a strict Follower of Honesty
" and Justice: All he said, as well as all he did, seemed
" to flow from a public and unbiased Spirit. He had
" no Occasion for the Powers of Eloquence to be able
" to persuade, for all Men knew it was their Interest to
" be of his Mind; and he had, before he spoke, that
" first Point, the Good-will of his Auditors; for every
" Man's Love of himself made him a Lover of *Bru-*
" *tus.*" Tho' he was the professed Enemy of Monar-
chy, he yet could not prevail with himself to hate the
Monarch who had indulged him with so many Favours;
so that 'twas only his Country's Love (the strongest of all
Engagements) which prompted him to join in the Con-
spiracy. *Cassius* was an able and experienced Soldier,
" who also was bound to *Cæsar* by no less an Ob-
" ligation than the giving him Life and Quarter in Bat-
tle. He was of a dark, sullen, and involved Spirit;
" quick to receive, but slow to discover a Distaste. His
" Anger never flew into his Face, but descended to his
" Heart, which rankled and preyed upon itself, and
" could not admit of Composure, either from Religion
" or Philosophy, he being a perfect Epicurean." *Cassius*
engaged in the Conspiracy, not so much from a View
to the public Good, as to satiate his private Vengeance.
The Plot was carried on with all imaginable Caution
and Secrecy: Nevertheless *Cassius*'s Behaviour to *Cæsar*
gave him sufficient Reason to suspect him; and when his
Friends advised him to beware of *Antony* and *Dolabella*,
he

he said, " That he did not mistrust those perfumed
" plump Sparks, but those pale and lean Gentlemen." At the foot of the first *Brutus's Statue*, these Words were written, " Would to Heaven thou wert living." Certain Papers, containing the following Words, were likewise thrown into the *Prætor's Tribunal*, " Thou sleepst, and art not truly *Brutus*." *Cætius* was Author of most of these Things, and had drawn *Brutus* into the Plot; who from an easy, placid, and fond, fell into a troubled and distracted Behaviour, which occasioned his Wife, *Porcia*, being in Bed with him, to enquire the Reason of his Melancholy. *Brutus* being afraid she would discover the Secret, if put to the Torture, *Porcia* gave herself a deep Stab in the Thigh, upon which he informed her of the whole Design.

Q. Please to proceed with the Plot.

A. The Conspirators, to justify their Attempt, suspended the Execution of it till the Ides of March, that is, till the Day that *Cæsar* was to be declared King. *Spurina*, a famous Augur, told him, that great Dangers threatened him on the Ides of March. " The World bore a Gloom and heavy Presage of *Cæsar's* approaching Fate. 'Tis related, that wild Beasts came into the most frequented Parts of the City; Apparitions in the Streets, unusual Illuminations in the Skies, and inauspicious Sacrifices, damped the Hearts of all Men except the Assassins, who, with an incredible Calm of Mind, expected the Opportunity of satiating their Vengeance in the Blood of the Usurper." The Night before the fatal Day, *Cæsar* heard *Calphurnia*, his Wife vent deep Groans in her Sleep: and the next Morning she declared that she dreamt she held him, quite covered with Wounds, in her Arms. She therefore besought him not to go out that Day, but to suspend the Assembly. *Cæsar*, though far from being superstitious, was yet so much wrought upon by *Calphurnia's* Tears and Intreaties, that he resolved not to leave his House that Day. But *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators, said to him, " What will your Enemies suggest, should they hear that you dare not venture out of Doors, unless your Wife has favourable Dreams?" Upon which he took

him by the Hand, and brought him out of the House. We are told, that as he was going along, several Papers were put into his Hand, informing him of the Conspiracy ; but that he had not an Opportunity to read them, because of the Croud ; and that he gave them to his Secretaries as was usual when petitions were presented to him.

Q. After what manner was *Cæsar* murdered ?

A. Being alighted out of his Litter, he went into the Senate House, which from the Founder's Name, was called the Court or Hall of *Pompey*. *Cæsar*, at his going in, met *Spurina*, and smiling said, " The Ides of " March are come ; " " True (replied the Augur) but " they are not gone." Scarce had he taken his Seat, but all the Assassins pressed about him ; and among the rest *Attilius Cimber*, to sue for his Brother's Return from Banishment. *Cæsar* severally checked their Importunity ; but whilst they were thus employed, one of them gave the Sign, by throwing his Robe over his Neck ; and another, oppressed with the Greatness of the Attempt, made an irresolute Pass at him. *Cæsar* rushed upon *Casca*, and beat him to the Ground ; but as they were struggling, another of the Conspirators came from behind, and plunged his Dagger into his Bosom. At the same time *Cassius* wounded him in the Face, and *Brutus* in the Thigh, till which he had made a vigorous Resistance, but upon this last Attack, he, " with a generous and disdainful " Resignation, yielded to the Stroke of a pardoned, " obliged, and rewarded Friend, (crying) And thou " too, my Son *Brutus* ! " *Cæsar* used to call him by this tender Name, and even thought he was his Father, because he had been engaged in an Intrigue with *Servilia*, *Brutus*'s Mother. *Cæsar* growing faint through Loss of Blood, reeled to *Pompey*'s Statue, when covering his Face with his Robe, and drawing his Skirts to his Knees that he might fall decently, he sunk down and expired, having received 23 Wounds. Thus fell the mighty *Julius Cæsar*, in the 56th Year of his Age, whose Death put an End to the first Triumvirate. The Conspirators seeing him dead, were going to acquaint the Senate with the Motives of their Attempt, and to exhort them to join in an Action, which would give Liberty to their Country.

But

But not a Senator would listen to them, most of them flying in the utmost Dread to their respective Houses. Whether this Action of *Brutus*, and the rest of the Conspirators, was just and laudable, is daily the Subject of Controversy. But, be this as it will, the Conspirators might have imagined that, considering the Posture of Affairs at this time, they could not naturally flatter themselves with the Hopes of restoring their Country to its Liberty. The Power of the *Romans* was now too extensive and their Manners were changed; Luxury and Ambition had too great an Ascendant in the Capital, and gave Rise to numberless Irregularities and wicked Actions. 'Twas almost impossible for so great a Corruption of the Laws and Morals of Men, to end but in a Revolution. Besides, the Polit from which *Julius Cæsar* was fallen, was so much envied, that it might naturally be supposed, as soon as one Man should be dispossessed of it, many would present themselves to succeed him, as will be evident from the Sequel.

BOOK II. Chap. VIII.

The Mixed State of ROME.

From the Death of JULIUS CÆSAR, to the perfect Settlement of the Empire under AUGUSTUS.

Containing about 17 Years.

WHAT was next transacted by the Conspirators?
A. Brutus and Cassius not being able to do any thing with the Senate, ran into the City, followed by their Accomplices, armed with their bloody Daggers; and cried aloud to the People, (to win them over to their Interest) that they had killed the King of *Rome*, and the Tyrant over his Country. Before them walked a Herald, carrying a Hat, the Sign of Liberty, at the End of a Lance. A few Senators joined them, but not a single

Plebeian declared in their Favour. The Conspirators, being surprized at the Sadness and Melancholy they saw in their Countenances, withdrew to the Capitol, where they were guarded by a Body of Gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus*; and they perceived with Grief, that the Death of an Usurper would occasion fresh Troubles in the Commonwealth. The People alarmed, at the News, all left their several Employments; ran tumultuously about the City, some for Information, others for Security, and others to share in the Plunder. As the People in general seemed displeased at *Cæsar's* Death, *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and the rest of his more particular Friends who at first had hid themselves for fear of being murdered, got together their Creatures, and resolved to revenge the Dictator's Death. *Lepidus*, by order of *Antony*, who was Consul, immediately got to a Legion of his that lay just by, and marched it into the *Campus Martius*. At this the Conspirators were greatly surprized; upon which they sent a Deputation to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, desiring an Accommodation. *Antony*, in hopes to draw off *Decimus's* Army from him, returned an amicable Answer.

Q. What followed upon this?

A. Antony, by virtue of his Office, carried all *Cæsar's* Effects and Papers to his House, and convened the Senate. There a great many Debates arose, and several Opinions were urged, which at last terminated in this most delicate and important Article, to pronounce whether *Cæsar* was a Tyrant or a lawful Magistrate; and if those who killed him, deserved to be rewarded or punished. *Antony* strenuously opposed the former Article. There were in the Senate two Parties, which without declaring themselves openly, carried on opposite Designs with the greatest Artifice and Dissimulation. *Antony*, at the Head of *Cæsar's* Friends and Creatures, endeavoured to rise to Sovereign Power by the Ruin of the Assassins. The true Republicans, without openly approving the late Transactions, made the restoring of the Republican Government their only Object. But as in this new Tumult, most of the Senators did not see into their reciprocal Views, they mistrusted one another; and did not declare themselves but with the utmost Reserve, they

they not yet knowing where to fix their Love or Hate. Thus, after a great Diversity of Opinions, a Medium was taken, in order to satisfy both Parties, viz. an Act of Oblivion passed, and all *Cæsar's* Ordinances were ratified, which was, in some Measure, declaring him guilty and innocent at the same Time; since his Actions during the Dictatorship ought not to be confirmed, if the Senate forbid the Prosecution of his Murderers: *Antony* was sensible of this Contradiction, but he did not oppose the Decree, for fear of *Decimus Brutus*, who was at the Head of a powerful Army. And now the Governors of the several Provinces were nominated; *Brutus* had the Island of *Crete*; *Cassius*, *Africa*; *Trebonius*, *Asia*; *Cimber*, *Bithynia*; and *Decimus Brutus* was confirmed in his Government of *Gallia Cisalpina*. *Antony* had an Interview with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and seemed reconciled; but the World justly supposed this to be all a Mask, *Antony* breathing nothing but revenge.

Q. What Measures did he take to effect this?

A. The next Day he ordered *Cæsar's* Will, which the latter had left in the Hands of *Piso*, his Father-in-law, to be read before the People; but *Cassius* and all his Adherents opposed this with the utmost Vigour, especially as the Funeral of the late Dictator was to be solemnized at the same Time, which they were sensible would renew the People's Affliction, and occasion fresh Commotions. However, after many very warm Debates, the Will was produced and read to the People, whereby it appeared, "that *Cæsar* had adopted *Octavius*, Son to "his Sister's Daughter, and made him his principal "Heir. That in case *Octavius* died without Issue, *Decimus Brutus*, one of the principal Conspirators, should "succeed him: That some other of the Accomplices "should be Guardians of *Octavius*, then but eighteen. "That the People of *Rome* should inherit his Gardens on "the other Side of the *Tiber*, and every Citizen, in "particular receive a certain Sum of Money." These Testimonies of *Cæsar's* great Kindness to the People began to make a strong Impression on them, and at last melting them into Tears, their common Affection was soon changed into Indignation against the Conspirators,

tors, especially *Decimus Brutus*, who had just before stabbed the very Man, who so honourably nominated him his second Heir.

Q. What was the next Step taken by *Antony* ?

A. He caused *Cæsar's* Body to be brought forth with the greatest Pomp and Solemnity. It was set down in the Middle of the *Forum*, and a Guard of Soldiers posted round it. Here a little wooden Temple was erected (after the Method of that of *Venus*) wherein was a Bed of Ivory, adorned with Gold Curtains and splendid Trophies. *Antony* then made his Funeral Oration, in which he extolled *Cæsar's* Victories, on his generous Courage, his vast Erudition, and particularly on the Clemency he had indulged in the Civil Wars, even to his most inveterate Enemies; on the extraordinary Honours which had been decreed him by the Senate, particularly the Decree by which he was styled the *Father of his Country*, and his Person declared sacred and inviolable. At these last Words he stopt, and turning to the Body that was extended on a funeral Pile, and shewing it to the People; " See there (says he) a Monument of our Gratitude. The greatest Man that ever lived has been assassinated by a Band of perfidious and ungrateful Wretches: the Man who had not only generously given them their Lives in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, but raised them to the highest Employments in the State." After this, as tho' *Cæsar* himself had complained of their Ingratitude, " Wherefore (continued he) did I give my Murderers their Lives? Will not a Man be found among the Multitudes on whom I showered down Benefits, generous and faithful enough to revenge my Cause on those Traitors?" Then *Antony* raising his Voice, and stretching forth his Hand towards Heaven, " O *Jupiter* (cried he) I am here ready to revenge him; and this I solemnly swear to do. And, ye Gods, Protectors of this Empire, I conjure you to assist me in so just a Duty." To excite still more the Grief and Indignation of the Populace, he takes *Cæsar's* Robe, all wet with Blood, and shews it them, and at the same time a waxen Image, resembling him exactly as he lay wounded. At this Sight the People shed a Flood of Tears,

Tears, praise him to the Skies, and curse his Murderers. Upon the setting fire to the funeral Pile, all the veteran Soldiers who had served under *Cæsar*, threw into the Flames, with inexpressible Grief, their Coronets, Arms, and other Badges of Honour, which their General had given them. They afterwards ran from the Pile with flaming Brands, to burn the Conspirators Houses, but were repulsed; but they discharged their Fury on *Helvius Cinna*, a Tribune of the People, whom they murdered, and fixed his Head on a Lance, they having mistaken him for *Cinna*, one of the Conspirators. The funeral Solemnity ended with paying divers Honours to *Cæsar*, and setting up an Altar in the Place where his Body was burnt, and where *Octavius Cæsar (Augustus)* afterwards erected a Temple.

Q. What became of the Conspirators?

A. Both they and the Senate were equally offended at *Mark Antony's* artful Speech. The former, not doubting but he would stir up the People to murder them, left *Rome*; and the greatest Part of them withdrew, upon different Pretences, to their respective Governments. They secured privately, the Legions and Forces which they found in the Provinces, and several of them seized upon the public Monies. The Kings and Cities of the *East*, who were in Alliance with the *Romans*, promised them powerful Succours, so that their Party became very formidable. The Senate, without declaring themselves openly, secretly favoured their Enterprizes, being persuaded, that the Preservation of the Republican Form of Government depended on this Party. This *Antony* was sensible of, and therefore, to recover the Favour of the Senate, he softened, in other Speeches, the harsh Things he had mentioned in the funeral Oration of *Cæsar*; and proposed the recalling of *Sextius Pompeius* (Son to the great *Pompey*) who was then in *Spain*, and the making him Admiral of the Fleets of the Commonwealth, in the same manner as his Father. The Senate were overjoyed at this bold Proposal, which occasioned many Speculations, but it was complied with. To persuade that Assembly of his Sincerity, *Antony* caused to be murdered publicly in *Rome* one *Amatius*,

who called himself *Cæsar's Relation*, and, as such, had not only called aloud to have his Death revenged, but also raised an Altar to his Memory, in the very Place where his Body had been burnt ; and required the Magistrates and great Men to offer up Sacrifices at it. As this Conduct pleased the Senate, so it exasperated the People, who reproached *Antony* publicly for his Fickleness and Ingratitude to *Cæsar's Memory*. This *Antony* made a Merit of with the Senate ; and upon his desiring a Guard for the Security of his Person, 'twas granted him. He indeed was ordered to employ only a few veteran Soldiers on this Occasion ; but *Antony*, instead of this, insensibly got 6000 brave and experienced Officers about him, who had all private Orders to win over the veteran Soldiers ; and by this Means he was able to raise immediately a powerful Army whenever he might think it necessary.

Q. With what Eye did the Senate now behold him ?

A. They were in great Terror to see him go always attended in this Manner. His Friends representing to him the Jealousy which this occasioned, *Antony* abolished for ever the Employment of Dictator, to remove the Suspicion of his aspiring to it. This and the Promise he made to disband his Guards, quieted People's Minds in some Measure. But still he was secretly aiming at sovereign Power. He himself was Consul ; *Lucius Antonius* was Tribune of the People, and *C. Antonius Prætor* : Both these were his Brothers, and he gave the latter the Command of six Legions (all composed of excellent Soldiers) in Macedonia. So many Employments united in one Family, gave *Antony* the Command of the Republic, where he indeed was absolute. But now *Octavius*, *Cæsar's Heir*, arrived in Rome. He was Son to *Caius Octavius* a Senator, and to *Accia*, Daughter to *Julia*, *Cæsar's Sister* ; and was come from *Apollonia* in *Greece*, where he had pursued his Studies. He was Master of a great deal of Wit, possessed a lofty Mind, and was of a most engaging Conversation ; and his Aspect was so comely and graceful, that it gained him the Love of all Men. Advice had been sent him of *Cæsar's Murder*, at which he was deeply afflicted. He had also been told, that the Conspirators had a formidable

ble Party ; that *Antony*, and the rest of his Uncle's Friends, sought for nothing but the aggrandizing themselves ; that *Rome* was all Tumult, and therefore many advised him not to go thither, but to quite lay aside his Pretensions. But *Octavius*, disdaining to follow these Counsels, resolved to revenge *Cæsar's* Murder, and to support his own Pretensions, though at the Hazard of his Life. In Consequence of this he set out from *Apollonia*, and would not land at *Brundusium*, the usual Port for those who came from that Part of the World, but at a little Town not far from it, whence the Officers and Soldiers (overjoyed to see so near a Relation of their former General) came out in Crouds to meet him, and gave up the Town to him. After thanking them for their Fidelity, he assumed the Name of *Cæsar*, by which we shall generally call him in the Sequel. He then marched boldly towards *Rome*, attended only by a few Domestics, but was joined in his way by all his Father's Friends, his Relations and Freed-men, and the veteran Soldiers, on whom *Cæsar* had bestowed Lands in *Italy*. Money was brought him from all Quarters ; and at his coming near the Capital, he was met by the greatest Part of the Magistrates, the Officers and People.

Q. How did *Antony* behave on this Occasion ?

Q. He was the only Person among *Julius Cæsar's* Adherents, who did not send to pay him his Compliments. As many of young *Cæsar's* Friends censured *Antony* for this, he speciously made his Apology ; saying, that he could not expect such an Honour, he being so young, and *Antony* Consul. He added, that he himself would pay him (*Antony*) the first Visit : but desired all his Relations and Friends to come into the *Forum* early the next Morning in order to assist at a solemn Act ; and this was to register his Adoption, as he was obliged by Law, without which it would have been invalid. His Mother and others, representing the great Danger he would thereby incur, as he might expect to be opposed by the Senate, the Conspirators and *Mark Antony*; *Cæsar* replied, " That he had duly weighed all these Matters upon " his Arrival in *Italy* ; that all he saw in *Rome* only " confirmed him in his Resolutions ; that he did not

" doubt but to get the Decree of the Senate repealed
 " with regard to the Conspirators, when the former
 " should see him at the Head of the Relations, Friends,
 " and Officers of *Cæsar*; and supported by the Laws and
 " the Affection of the People. That whatever might
 " be the Consequence, he would rather die than re-
 " nounce so glorious an Adoption." *Accia* seeing him so
 resolute, clasped him in her Arms, and cried, " May the
 " Gods (my Son) conduct you, whither you are called by
 " your mighty Destinies; and may you return victorious
 " over your Enemies." *Cæsar* going to the *Forum*,
Caius Antonius the *Prætor* registered his Adoption, af-
 ter which he went immediately to *Antony's Palace*.

Q. What Reception did he meet with?

A. *Antony* made him wait some Time at the Door, to shew his Superiority; but being afterwards admitted in, they accosted one another with that cold Politeness, which is seen in Persons of their Rank, who hate one another in their Hearts. *Cæsar* spoke first, and after thanking *Antony* for the Respect he had shewn to his Uncle's Memory, he blamed him, in the strongest Terms, for consenting to the Pardon of the Conspirators. He then conjured him to change his Conduct, and to attempt the revenging of *Cæsar's* Death, by joining with his Relations, Friends, Officers and Soldiers; and, in case this were not found sufficient, to call the People to his Aid. He then intreated *Antony* to give up to him *Julius Cæsar's* Money, which he had carried to his House; in order that he might pay the People the Legacies which his Uncle had bequeathed them: but as the Money above-mentioned would not suffice for that Purpose, he likewise desired *Antony* to lend, or borrow for him, so much as was necessary to discharge the whole. *Antony* was struck at *Cæsar's* Boldness, but afterwards recovering himself, he answered, " That he was greatly mistaken, if he imagined that *Julius Cæsar*, in leaving him his Name and Estate, had also left him a Right to the Empire. That as he (*Antony*) was Consul, he therefore was not obliged to give him an Account of his Conduct. That it was he who had secured his Inheritance, by so courageously bringing forth the Body of *Cæsar*, and reading

" reading his Will to the People, without which his Adoption would never have taken place. That he had Reasons for behaving with Clemency towards the Conspirators, but that he was too young to comprehend them. That with regard to the Monies he demanded, those belonged to the Commonwealth, and had been distributed among the Magistrates since *Iulius Cæsar's Death.*" He concluded with advising him, not to attempt the winning the Affections of the Populace by Money, who (he said) were so fickle, that their Favour was not worth purchasing.

Q. What followed upon this?

A. Young *Cæsar* plainly foresaw, that the only Motive of *Mark Antony's* refusing him the Money was, that he might not be in a Condition to purchase the Empire, which was now put up, as it were, to the highest Bidder. *Cæsar* left *Antony* in a Rage, and immediately sold the Lands and Houses which had belonged to the Dictator; and declared, that the sole Motive of his accepting the Inheritance was, that he might prevent the Consul from depriving the People of the Legacies bequeathed them by his Uncle. But now *Antony* had Recourse to Artifice; he endeavoured to invalidate the Effect of the Will, by raising Oppositions to the Sale which *Cæsar* meditated; several Persons claiming those Lands and Houses, as unjustly usurped from their Ancestors by the Dictator during the Civil Wars. 'Twas to no Purpose young *Cæsar* proved, by the original Contracts, that his Uncle had paid for them with his own Money; and that at the worst, the famous Decree enacted by the Senate, ratified every thing transacted by him during his Dictatorship. *Antony*, whose only Aim was to perplex and embroil this Affair, asserted, that it would be but just to allow Citizens, who had been dispossessed of their Estates by Violence, Time to produce their Proofs; and that with respect to the Decree of the Senate, it seemed to have been enacted in no other View, but to continue, in their several Posts, the Magistrates who had been created by the Dictator, for fear lest the State should fall into a kind of Anarchy; but that he could not say, whether that Ordinance ought to be extended to those Possessions,

essions, which *Cæsar* had appropriated to himself. That he could not believe, that so equitable an Assembly as the Senate would countenance Usurpations, which nothing but the Calamity of the Times could justify; and which would hereafter serve to no other Purpose than to feed the Pride and Luxury of a young Man.

Q. How did *Cæsar* take this Opposition?

A. He immediately sold his own Estate, with that of his Mother and Father-in-law, which they generously made over to him on this Occasion; and with the Monies arising from them, he paid part of the Legacies bequeathed by the Dictator. And now the People, charmed with his Liberality, cried aloud, that he was worthy of bearing the Name of *Cæsar*; and as they expected future Benefactions from him, they all declared in his Favour against *Antony*; who, to strengthen himself against this new Party, demanded, and obtained the Government of *Macedonia*, and the Command of the Legions there, upon the false Pretence that the *Getæ* (a People of *Scythia*) had made an Incursion into that Province, at their hearing of *Cæsar's* Death. The Senate, to preserve the Liberties of their Country, employed their utmost Endeavours to keep the Balance of Power even between the Great Men; but they nevertheless were obliged to give up the Forces of the State, and the Command of the Armies to Persons, who turned their Arms against their Country. *Antony* having obtained this Government, sent one of his Brothers thither; ordering him to bring into *Italy* all the Troops he should meet with there. His Design was to seize, in Imitation of the Dictator, on *GalliaCisalpina*; and after extending his Authority from thence to *Rome*, to drive young *Cæsar* from it. *Mark Antony's* Animosity against him displayed itself strongly in the Games which *Cretonius* the *Ædile* caused to be exhibited to divert the People; on which Occasion, as has been related, the Crown and Golden Chair were to be brought forth in all public Spectacles, to perpetuate the Memory of the late Dictator; but were now refused when sent by *Cæsar*. This young *Roman* discovering his Anger at *Antony* on that Account, the latter threatened to imprison him, upon which *Cæsar* stifled his Resentment.

ment. But he afterwards, in his Speeches to the People in the *Forum*, made *Antony* odious to them, by insinuating, that he opposed him in his Endeavours to pay the Legacies, which his Uncle had bequeathed to them. Such Speeches, repeated artfully on different Occasions, rendered the Consul very obnoxious. His Ingratitude was universally detested; and his own Guards threatened to desert him, in case he continued thus to injure the adopted Son of their beloved General. *Antony* now found it necessary for him to dissemble his Thoughts, and therefore assured the Guards, that he was ready to give *Cæsar* all his Friendship, provided he would treat him with proper Decency.

Q. Were they reconciled?

A. The Officers procured an Interview between *Antony* and *Cæsar*, upon which they were seemingly Friends, and promised to succour each other to the utmost of their Power. *Antony* then desired *Cæsar* to assist him in his Endeavours to dispossess *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators, of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and to get it for himself, which *Cæsar* promised to do. *Antony* bringing this Affair before the Senate, they rejected his Demand; whence it appeared, that the Senate did not desire the Ruin of the Conspirators, whose Cause they looked upon as that of Liberty. But *Antony* now addressing the unthinking Plebeians, (whose Tribunes he had gained) they decreed him the Government above-mentioned; upon which he, in Spite of the Senate, sent a powerful Body of Forces to drive *D. Brutus* from thence. The Enemies to the Senate and Conspirators rejoiced at this Reconciliation of *Antony* and *Cæsar*, which however was not lasting; occasioned principally by the latter's attempting to get *Flaminius*, one of his Creatures, elected a Tribune of the People. This *Antony* opposed with all his Might; and at the same Time he enacted a Decree, by which *Cæsar* was forbid to make any Donations contrary to the Laws. Their reciprocal Hatred increasing, *Antony* spoke in the most contemptuous Terms of *Cæsar*; during which, the latter was secretly labouring at the Ruin of his Enemy. *Cæsar* inflamed the People against him; and even the veteran Officers and Soldiers in *Antony's* Army. Those who

who composed *Antony's* Guard insisted upon his joining with *Cæsar*, declaring, that otherwise he would ruin both them and himself, since the Parties which formerly divided the Commonwealth between *Pompey* and *Cæsar* still existed. *Mark Antony* wished, as earnestly as they could do, the Destruction of the Conspirators ; but he could not yield to have it brought about by young *Cæsar*, who he feared would seize (upon Pretence of revenging the Dictator's Death) on the Government, after crushing the Republican Party ; and this was the secret Motive of their Divisions. *Antony*, to content his Officers, expatiated on the Bravery with which he had defended the Dictator's Memory ; and the prudent Measures he had taken, in order to get an Opportunity of revenging his Death ; and as he pretended to unbosom his whole Soul to them on this Occasion, they seemed satisfied with his Remonstrances ; but still they insisted upon his being reconciled to *Cæsar*. He accordingly was obliged to have an Interview with him, in which, after many Compliments and reciprocal Civilities, they separated no less Enemies than before.

Q. What ensued upon this ?

A. Young *Cæsar* would willingly have been assisted by *Antony* in revenging *Julius Cæsar's* Death, but could not bear to think of his seizing upon the Commonwealth ; whilst *Antony*, not valuing (in his Heart) whether the Dictator's Memory was revenged, made the attaining of Sovereign Power his only Aim. In consequence of this, *Antony*, to ruin *Cæsar* in the Minds of the People, put several of his own Guards under an Arrest, upon Pretence of their having been bribed by young *Cæsar* to murder him. This made a great Noise, every one looking upon the Conspiring the Death of a Consul, as the blackest of Crimes. *Cæsar*, alarmed at this, ran up and down the Streets, protesting his Innocence : and being denied Entrance at *Antony's* Palace, he called him a thousand Villains, and defied to produce a single Evidence. Various Constructions were put on this Incident ; some even suspected that both *Cæsar* and *Antony* had done this in Concert, in order that they might have an Opportunity of taking up Arms, and ruining the Liberties of their Country.

Country. But their Conduct afterwards shewed, that they mutually endeavoured to destroy one another ; and that each aspired to be the sole Head of the Party which opposed the Conspirators ; for now both took up Arms, and a fresh War broke out, about three Quarters of a Year after the Dictator's Murder.

Q. In what Manner ?

A. *Mark Antony* caused four Legions, which he had sent for from *Macedonia*, in order to seize upon *Gallia Cisalpina*, to advance near *Rome*. He flattered himself with the Hopes, that *Lepidus*, who was at the Head of four Legions in *Spain*, and that two other Commanders who had been Lieutenants to the Dictator, and commanded five Legions more, would declare in his Favour. *Cæsar* also levied 10,000 Men in *Campania*, and won over two of *Antony's* Legions ; but as he was not invested with any Employment, he, by the Credit of *Cicero*, won over the Senate to his Interest. *Cato* hated *Antony*, and for this Reason only, because he thought him an Enemy to the Commonwealth. This great Orator seeing *Antony* going to invade *Gallia Cisalpina*, persuaded the Senate to oppose young *Cæsar's* Troops to him. The most judicious Senators, the greatest Part of whom were related to the Conspirators, approved an Opinion which would sow the Seeds of Discord among the opposite Party ; and were in Hopes that the Chiefs of it would, by their mutual Feuds, bring one another to Destruction ; which Circumstance was not unknown to young *Cæsar*.

Q. How did he behave on this Change ?

A. He resolved to dissemble with the Senate ; to suppress for some time his Hatred against the Conspirators ; and to rid himself, if possible, of *Antony*, before he turned his Arms against the Conspirators. 'Twas merely to impose upon the Senate that he refused the Title of *Pro-prætor*, which his Soldiers would bestow on him : But he told his most intimate Friends, that the sole Motive of his refusing it was, that the Senate might offer it him. They, on their Side, endeavoured also to deceive *Cæsar*, and to dazzle him with Titles and Honours which had more Lustre than Power ; and accordingly they offered

ferred him the Title he had rejected, and many other exalted Honours. *Cæsar* saw plainly, that the sole Motive of this was, to make him obliterate the Remembrance of his Father's Death, or to put him out of a Condition to revenge it.

Q. What was *Antony* doing ?

A. By virtue of an Ordinance of the *Ann. Rom. 711.* People, tho' in Opposition to the Senate, the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina* had been decreed him, which *Julius Cæsar* had bestowed on *Decimus Brutus*, and the Senate had confirmed. *Antony* after winning most of the Cities of that Province, was then actually besieging *D. Brutus* in *Mutina* or *Modena*. The Senate, exasperated at this Enterprize, made against their Orders, enacted a Decree, (which *Cicero* drew up) whereby *Antony* was ordered to raise the Siege, to march back his Army to the *Rubicon*, and there wait the Orders of the Senate, upon pain of being declared an Enemy to his Country. As *Mark Antony* was at the Head of a powerful Body of Forces, he laughed at the Decree ; and declared that he hoped soon to sacrifice *Decimus Brutus* to the Manes of *Cæsar* ; which Answer was looked upon as a Declaration of War. About this time new Consuls were elected. viz. *Hirtius* and *Pansa*; both great Friends to the late Dictator ; the former of whom had fought under *Julius Cæsar*, and writ an Account of the Wars of *Egypt* and *Africa*, annexed to that Emperor's Commentaries. The Senate being met, *Antony* was declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth, wherein *Cicero* was very instrumental, he having made several ingenious and very severe Invectives against him ; all which, in Imitation of *Demosthenes*, he intitled *Pbilippics*. The Senate now gave young *Cæsar* equal Power and Authority with the Consuls, whom they sent with all Speed to relieve *D. Brutus* besieged in *Modena*. A Letter which *Cæsar* received from *Antony*, in which he upbraided him with assisting *Julius Cæsar*'s Murders, made a strong Impression upon him ; however, he concealed his Thoughts, and marched with the Consuls. *Pansa* was at the Head of four Legions, all new Levies ; and *Hirtius* (by a private Order from the Senate, who wanted to weaken *Cæsar*'s

far's Army) demanded back two Legions, which Cæsar delivered up immediately to the Consul, without the least visible Reluctance, and afterwards joined his remaining Troops to those of the Consuls: Thus the Dictator's adopted Son was seen marching under his Enemies Standards, to succour one of his Father's Assassins.

Q. What was the Issue of this War?

A. The Consuls took Bononia in a little time, and *Antony* meeting *Pansa* soon after, defeated him; but returning carelessly to his Camp, was worsted by *Hirtius*. Not many Days after a general Battle was fought near *Modena*, when *Antony*, with much Difficulty, and after a great Slaughter had been made, was overthrown, after which he fled to *Gallia Transalpina* to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Afanius Pollio*, who were in those Parts at the Head of considerable Bodies of Forces, hoping they would declare in his Favour. The Senate overjoyed at *Antony's* Defeat, whom they considered as an undone Man, sent Orders to their Generals to oppose his Passage. They no longer kept any Measures with *Cæsar*, thinking they now had nothing to fear from him; and invested *Decimus Brutus* with the Command of an Army, with Orders for him to pursue *Antony* as an Eeenemy to his Country. This Conduct shewed young *Cæsar* what Usage he was to expect from the greatest Part of the Senators. *Pansa* before he expired, discovered their Intentions to him as follows: "Your Father (said he to young *Cæsar*, whom he had desired to draw near his Bed-side) "was always dearer to me than my own Life. Altho' "I adhered, as well as yourself, from prudential Mo- "tives, to the Senate; I yet ever harboured a strong "Desire, and hoped to meet one Day with an Oppor- "tunity of revenging his Deatli. Mine, which is now "impending, deprives me of that Consolation; but be- "fore I close my Eyes, I will at least acquit myself to- "wards the Son, of the Obligations by which I stand "bound to the Father. Know that you are as much "suspected by, and as odious to the Senate, as *Antony* "your Enemy. They detest you equally; they were "overjoyed at your Dissentions, and they hope to crush "you both. The only Reason of their declaring for you
" was,

" was, they believed your Party the weakest, and con-
 " sequently the easiest to be destroyed. My Design, far
 " different from that of the Senate, was, to oblige *Antony* by force of Arms to a Reconciliation with you ;
 " to afterwards join our Armies, and to revenge, in
 " Conjunction, the Murder of our common Benefactor.
 " This is the only Course you can take. Join with
 " *Antony*, whom you will not find so haughty since
 " his Defeat. I restore you your two Legions, and
 " would as freely give you up the rest of the Army,
 " were it in my Power. The Officers are so many Spies
 " from the Senate, and have secret Orders to watch us."

The Consul expired soon after.

Q. What Steps were now taken by *Cæsar* ?

A. He put himself at the Head of his Forces, and was soon joined by two Legions more. The Command of the rest of the Troops, by Order of the Senate, was given to *Decimus Brutus*, who immediately pursued *Antony*: The only Reason of the Senate's giving *D. Brutus* this Command was, that they might have an Army at their Disposal; but *Cæsar* was exasperated at this Usage, and therefore had some Thoughts of joining *Antony*; however upon mature Reflection, he resolved to ingratiate himself, if possible, with both, and to see which Party *Lepidus* and *Plancus* would declare for. For this Purpose, he got his Friends in *Rome* to demand the Consulate in his Name; and at the same time sent *Antony* several of his principal Officers, whom he had taken Prisoners in the last Battle. The Senate having refused *Cæsar* the Consulate, he plainly saw, that it would be his Interest to join with *Antony*, and for this Purpose he, by Letter, sounded the Dispositions of *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Afrius Pollio*; and, at the same time, insinuated a Desire to be reconciled with *Mark Antony*; and of this he gave a fresh Proof, by permitting *Ventidius*, *Antony*'s Lieutenant, whom he might easily have defeated, to march away unmolested; charging him at the same Time to tell *Antony*, in his Name, that he acted directly against their common Interest.

Q. Where was *Antony* then ?

A. Being

A. Being vigorously pursued by *D. Brutus*, he was obliged to fly over the *Alps*, Advice of which being sent the Senate, the Partizans of *Pompey* in it cried aloud, that the Commonwealth had recovered its Liberty ; and as tho' *Antony* had been already seized, ten Commissioners were appointed to prosecute him. But *Antony* was safe in *Gaul*, where he wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, (formerly his Friends,) and conjured them to succour him. *Lepidus*, who was appointed Governor of *Spain*, was greatly surprized and confounded at *Antony's* Arrival. *Lepidus* was more respected for the Merit of his Ancestors than for his own Bravery ; had little Capacity ; was very ambitious, without being valiant ; and tho' enterprizing, was yet fearful. *Lepidus* answered *Antony*, that as the Senate had declared him an Enemy to his Country, the like Decree would be enacted against him, should he countenance him. *Asinius Pollio*, on the contrary, assured him that he would join him with the greatest Pleasure ; but *Plancus* was wavering, and flattered *Antony* and *Decimus Brutus*, alternately, with the hopes of reinforcing them. But now *Antony*, reduced to this Extremity, resolved upon a bold Action. He marched immediately to *Lepidus's* Army, and marked out his Camp near it. He then sent, and conjured him to join in revenging *Julius Cæsar's* Murder. Whilst this Affair was negotiating, *Lepidus's* Soldiers, who despised him as much as they venerated *Antony*, received him at Midnight, in their Camp, and acknowledged him their General. Some even offered to kill *Lepidus*; but *Antony*, scorning so base a Counsel, gave him the most humane Treatment, and left him the Title and the exterior Marks of Command, tho' himself enjoyed it wholly. *Antony* being now reinforced by *Asinius Pollio*, *Plancus*, and *Ventidius*, saw himself at the Head of 17 Legions.

Q. What Measures did the Senate take ?

A. They were now strangely dejected. They before had imagined that the Dictatorial Party was quite ruined upon *Antony's* flying over the *Alps*, and therefore were determined to oblige young *Cæsar* to disband his Army. To prevent this, *Cæsar* resolved to sue for the Consulate ;

Consulate ; and 'tis said, that he attempted about this time, a Reconciliation with *Antony*. As *Cicero* was very powerful in the Senate, *Cæsar*, by their common Friends, desired him to employ his Credit, in order that they might be elected Consuls together ; declaring further that the only Motive of his aspiring to this Office was, that he might learn the Art of Government under so great a Master as *Cicero*. The latter, seduced by Praise, of which he was extremely fond, and hoping to govern *Cæsar*, declared in his Favour ; and employed all his Rhetoric in the Senate to get him elected Consul, which Proposal, however, after very warm Debates, was rejected. But *Cæsar* advancing his Army near to *Rome*, the Report of it had a much stronger Effect than all *Cicero's* Eloquence. This terrified the Senate to such a Degree, that they chose *Cæsar* Consul ; who now imagining that he had no further Occasion for *Cicero's* Credit, caused *Quintus Pedus*, his Relation and Creature, to be chosen his Colleague, in Prejudice of *Cicero*.

Q. What was the first Act after his Admission to the Consulship ?

A. He got his Adoption confirmed in a general Assembly of the People. But as *Brutus* and *Cassius* were at the Head of about 20 Legions, he found it absolutely necessary for him to be reconciled to *Antony* ; and accordingly the Senate, tho' with prodigious Reluctance, revoked solemnly all the Decrees that had been enacted against *Antony*, *Dolabella*, and other Friends of the Dictator ; and likewise condemned *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and their several Acomplices. *Cæsar* now offered *Antony* to join their Forces, and march together against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Antony* returned over the *Alps*, at the head of 17 Legions, when *Decimus* finding it impossible to oppose him, thought of retiring to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were in *Greece*, but most of his Soldiers, not being satisfied with his Design, revolted either to *Antony* or young *Cæsar* ; and *Decimus* himself endeavouring, with a few Attendants, to pass through *Gaul*, was taken and betrayed at *Aquileia* by *Sequanus*, Governor of the Country, who sent his Head to *Antony*. Thus fell *D. Brutus*, the Confident and Friend of *Julius Cæsar*, who had heaped

heaped the greatest Benefits upon him. About this time, *Trebonius*, another of the Conspirators, excluding *Dolabella* from *Pergamus*, and *Smyrna*, because the Senate had declared him an Enemy, was taken by him ; and after being put to grievous Torments, his Head was struck off, and kicked about in a most contemptuous Manner by the Soldiers.

Q. In what Manner was the second Triumvirate formed ?

A. Both *Cæsar* and *Mark Antony* were now willing to be reconciled, and their common Friends prevailed with them to agree upon an Interview. The Conference was accordingly held in a little desert Island near *Modena* ; both Armies being encamped on the Banks of the River, and Bridges thrown over it, on which a Guard was posted. *Lepidus* being admitted to this Interview, went first into the Island, to see if both Parties might pass into it with Safety, they still suspecting one another. *Lepidus* having made the Signal agreed upon, the two Generals crossed, by opposite ways, into the Island. They embraced, and immediately walked to the highest Eminence in the Island, whence they might be seen by their respective Armies. They then sat down, and *Cæsar* seated himself in the Middle, as being the most honourable Place. And now, without taking any Notice of past Transactions, they debated upon what Form of Government they should give the Commonwealth ; and, after three Days Conference, agreed “ That *Qænius* should resign the Consulate to *Ventidius* ; that *Lepidus*, *Cæsar*, and *Antony*, should invest themselves with the supreme Authority, during five Years, under the Name of *Triumviri* : That *Antony* should have all *Gaul* except *Narbonne*, which *Lepidus* was to have with *Spain* ; whilst *Cæsar* was to possess *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, with the other Islands ; and that *Italy* and the Eastern Provinces should continue for a time in common.” In this manner, says *Plutarch*, did these three Men divide the World, as tho’ it had been their matrimonial Estate. They further agreed to destroy all their Enemies, on which Occasion *Cicero* caused the greatest Controversy ; *Antony*, his implacable Enemy, refusing

to come to any Accommodation till his Death was determined. *Lepidus* (who was only a Tool) consented to this; whilst *Cæsar* on account of his former Friendship, would have his Life spared, but at last consented to his Death.

Q. Did not the *Triumviri* behave with the utmost Cruelty?

A. They proscribed 300 Senators and upwards of 2000 *Equites*. *Rome* was now in a most deplorable Condition; nothing being heard but Cries and Lamentations in every Part of it, and Murders were committed every where by the Soldiers. No Man durst refuse Entrance to any of them, and *Rome* appeared like a Town that was exposed to the Sword of the most merciless Enemy. Great Numbers of uncondemned Persons lost their Lives in this Confusion. In a word, the most horrid Fury that Revenge or Interest could suggest, and the most generous Kindness that Love or Fidelity could inspire, were seen in different Incidents of this dreadful Proscription. The *Triumviri* carried their Inhumanity to such lengths, as to give up to one another their nearest Relations. *Lepidus* sacrificed his Brother *Paulus* to his two Collegues; *Mark Antony* abandoned to *Cæsar* his Uncle *Lucius*; and *Cæsar* gave up to *Antony*, *Cicero*, to whom he was bound by the strictest Obligations. *Cicero* had fled on board a Ship, but not being able to endure the Sea, he returned to Shore, saying, "That he would die in his own Country, which he had so often preserved;" and going to a small Village, his Servants, being terrified by Prodigies, put him again into his Litter, and were carrying him back to Sea. But *Cicero* spying Ruffians coming, ordered his Litter to be set down, and quietly submitted his Neck to *Pomponius Lena*, whom he before had saved from Condemnation. This Wretch cut off his Head and Hands, and carrying them to *Antony*, he insulted over them: Some relate, that it was his Custom to have the Heads of those whom he had proscribed brought upon the Table, and that he there used to fix his Eyes a long time upon this shocking Spectacle. His Wife *Fulvia*, according to *Dion*, spit upon *Cicero's* Head; and laying it on her Lap, pulled out the Tongue, and pierced

pierced it several times with her Bodkin. The Head and Hands being afterwards, by order of *Antony*, fixed upon the *Rostrum*, the People were struck with Horror, to see the Remains of a Man, whose wonderful Eloquence had so often triumphed in that very Place. *Cicero* was then about sixty-four Years of Age.

Q. Who were the next Victims?

A. *Thboranius*, young *Cæsar's* Tutor, who had educated him with so much Care, and *Plotius*, who was designed Consul, were included in the Proscription. *Quintus*, *Cicero's* Brother, with all his Sons, were murdered. The most sacred Ties of Nature, were violated on this Occasion, tho' many singular and wonderful Examples of the Love of Wives to their Husbands, and of Slaves to their Masters, were seen. *Oppius*, taking his decrepid Father on his Shoulders, carried him to the Seaside, and escaped with him into *Sicily*, for which the People, at his Return, appointed him *Ædile*, and gave him large Sums of Money. Those who escaped the Proscription had fled to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, or to *Cornificius* in *Africa*; but the greatest Part went to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, who was then very powerful, particularly by Sea, and from whom they met with the most generous and humane Treatment. The *Triumviri*, in order to raise Money, taxed 1400 *Roman Ladies*; these went to the Place where those inhuman Magistrates were assembled, when *Hortensia* (Daughter to *Hortensius* the famous Orator) reproaching them, in the most pathetic, tho' decent Terms, with their Cruelty, they reduced the Number of Ladies to 400; but at the same time taxed above 100,000 Men; after which the *Triumviri* went to the Senate-house, and declared that the Proscription was at an End.

Q. What were the Conspirators doing?

A. They had now made a considerable Progress, in the East, *Cassius* having *Ann. Rom. 712.* subjected all *Syria*; upon which *Cæsar* and *Antony* went into *Macedonia*, in order to fight them. *Cassius* and *Brutus* met at *Smyrna*; and after seducing the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*, they met again at *Sardis*, where they agreed to march against *Antony* and young *Cæsar*.

" Here

" Here one Evening *Brutus*, as he was sitting penive and
 " revolving the Transactions of his Life ; the Memory
 " of *Cæsar* occurring to him, now perhaps not as a
 " Traitor, a Tyrant, or Usurper, but as one he loved
 " and murdered ; an Apparition appeared (or he thought
 " appeared to him) which told him it was his evil Ge-
 " nius, and would meet him at *Philippi*, to which he
 " calmly answered, I will meet thee there. *Brutus*
 " communicating the sad Impression which this made
 " upon him to *Cassius*, he, in an *Epicurean* manner,
 " gave him a superficial Comfort, by Discourses of the
 " Illusions our Fancies, our Dreams, and our Sorrows
 " imprint upon the Mind, and make, of an imaginary,
 " a real Torment." This Discourse however satisfied
Brutus, and soon after they marched into *Tbrace*, and
 then to the City of *Philippi*, situate on the Confines of
Macedon and *Tbrace*, near which the Forces of the *Tri-
 umviri* were encamped.

Q. I desire to know the Particulars of the Battle
 fought between them.

A. Their Armies were not very unequal ; the Con-
 spirators having 19 Legions and 20,000 Horse, and the
Triumviri the same Number of Legions and 13,000
 Horse. Several Skirmishes were fought, in which the
 Troops of the Conspirators had always the Advantage.
 At last the Day appeared which was to determine the
 Fate of the Commonwealth. The two Armies moved,
 and marched against each other with equal Fury. That
 of the *Triumviri* was commanded by *Antony* only. In
 the Army of the Conspirators, " *Brutus* commanded the
 " Right, and *Cassius* the Left of the Line. The first
 " broke the opposite Wing of the Enemy ; the second
 " was himself forced. But by a Failure in their Orders
 " and Intelligence, each was ignorant of the other's
 " Fortune ; *Brutus* followed his Blow, and his Heat
 " drove him too far before he thought of *Cassius*, whom
 " at last, with a strong Detachment, he returns to re-
 lieve. His Friend retreated to a rising Ground, to
 " view and bewail the Fate of their Cause, and com-
 manded an Officer to observe that Body marching to-
 " wards him. The Gentleman soon found them Friends,
 " and

" and confidently rid in among them ; they as kindly
 " inclosed him to enquire news : upon seeing this, the
 " miserable *Cassius* concluded him taken by the Ene-
 " my ; and giving all for lost, retired into a Tent where
 " he was, by his own Order, killed by a Servant. Here
 " *Brutus*—sinks and falls into the most extreme De-
 " spair. He, with some others that escaped the Pursuit,
 " retired to a Thicket of the Wood, where also finding
 " they were traced, 'twas proposed still to fly. But he,
 " after having expressed a Satisfaction (but a false one,
 " since he could not live with it) in his Integrity, ran
 " upon his Sword, and transfix'd his great Heart."

Such was the End of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who, as some relate, died by the same Weapons with which they had stabbed *Cæsar*. All those who were conscious of their having shared in the Guilt of *Julius Cæsar's* Death, laid violent Hands upon themselves ; but the rest rallying, submitted to the Conquerors, by whom they were honourably treated. The *Triumviri*, by this Victory, established their Empire on the Ruins of the Commonwealth ; its Liberties being buried in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, the last of the Romans. Some relate, that young *Cæsar* fell sick before the Engagement ; whilst others say that, at the Beginning of the Battle, he went and hid himself in the Baggage.

Q. What was done by *Cæsar* and *Mark Antony* after the Battle ?

A. They spent the following Days in wreaking their Vengeance on their Enemies. *Hortensius*, Pro-consul of *Macedonia*, after the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, was murdered on the Tomb of *Caius Antonius*, whom *Hortensius* had put to Death by *Brutus's* Order. *Livius Brutus*, Father of *Livia*, who was afterwards married to young *Cæsar*, murdered himself in his Tent : *Varus*, a brave Roman, obliged his Freed-man to dispatch him. *Cæsar*, on this Occasion, seemed to behave with more Cruelty than was natural to him ; he sending *Brutus's* Head to *Rome*, to be laid at the Feet of the late Dictator's Statue. His Ashes were sent to his Wife *Portia*, *Cato's* Daughter, who is said to have killed herself by swallowing burning Coals. *Cæsar* forced a Senator and his Son to cast Lots

for their Lives, which they both refused ; but the Father gave himself up to Execution, and the Son stabbed himself before his Face. *Cæsar* then returned to *Italy*, and *Antony* after visiting *Athens*, where he was present at the Conferences of the Philosophers, crossed into *Asia* with all his Troops, where he was waited upon and courted by all the Princes of the *East*, who recognized the *Roman* Power ; a Circumstance that soothed most agreeably his ambitious Temper. He pardoned most of those of *Brutus*'s Party, who surrendered to him ; and extorted out of the People in these Countries almost all the Money which had been left them by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Antony* then made himself supreme Judge of the Disputes between the Kings of those Countries.

Q. Did not he summon *Cleopatra Queen of Egypt* to appear before him ?

A. Being in *Cilicia*, he was told that her Governors in *Pbænicia* had sent Succours to *Cassius* against *Dolabella*, (beheaded by *Brutus*'s Order in *Laodicea*) and therefore he commanded her to come and appear before him ; a Circumstance which afterwards proved his Ruin. *Cleopatra*, sure of the Triumph of her Charms, which she had tried so successfully on *Julius Cæsar*, was persuaded that she might easily captivate *Antony*. She was very young and unexperienced, when known to the former ; but she was going to appear before *Antony* in an Age in which Women add to the Pride of Beauty, the greatest Wit, and Knowledge of Affairs. *Cleopatra* was then five and twenty. She now got together very rich Gifts, large Sums of Money, and, above all, exceedingly-rich Dresses ; relying still more on the Charms and Graces of her Person (more powerful than the richest Habits) she set out very leisurely on her Journey. After crossing the sea of *Pamphylia*, she entered the *Cydnus*, and going up that River, arrived at *Tarsus*, where *Mark Antony* then was. No Princess ever appeared in a more singular Manner, or with greater Magnificence. The Stern of her Ship was of Gold, the Sails of Purple Silk, and the Oars of Silver. On the Deck was a Canopy of Gold Tissue, under which the Queen, habited like *Venus*, reclined ; lovely Boys fanning her like so many *Cupids* ;

Cupids; and herself surrounded with the most beautiful Nymphs of her Court, in the Dresses of *Nereids* and *Graces*. Instead of Trumpets; Flutes, Hautboys, Viols, and such like Instruments, played the most tender Airs; and the Cadence of the Oars, which kept time, made this Harmony still more delightful. On the Deck the most exquisite Perfumes were burnt, which diffused their Odours to a great Distance on the River, and to each of its Banks, which were covered with numberless Spectators.

Q. What Reception did *Cleopatra* meet with ?

A. The People flocked in such Crouds to meet her, that *Antony*, who then sat in his Tribunal, was left alone. A Report was spread, that *Venus* was coming in a *Masque* to *Bacchus* for the Advantage of *Asia*. She was no sooner landed, but *Antony* sent to pay his Compliments, and to invite her to Supper. She thanked him, but desired to have him for her Guest, for which Purpose she ordered Tents to be pitched on the Banks of the River. *Antony* went, and found all the Preparations inexpressibly magnificent; but he was struck chiefly with the Illumination; Lamps being disposed, in the utmost Order and Beauty, in such Numbers, that their Light almost rivalled that of the Sun. *Antony* invited her to an Entertainment the next Day; but though nothing was wanting in it with regard to Order and Magnificence, yet he confessed that hers was infinitely superior. Very little Notice was taken of the Complaints made against *Cleopatra*, which were really without Foundation: She enchanted *Mark Antony* to such a Degree, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that 'was not possible for him to refuse her any thing; and 'was then, at her Request, that he put to death *Arfinoe*, her Sister, who had fled for Refuge to the Temple of *Diana* and *Miletus*. Nothing was now seen but Banquets; and as *Antony* was one Day admiring the Richness and Workmanship of a great Number of Gold Cups, she said they were nothing, and presented them to him. 'Twas doubtless in one of these Entertainments, that (a Wager being laid) *Cleopatra* dissolved a Pearl of immense Value, and afterwards swallowed it. The other

Pearl, after *Cleopatra's* Death, coming into the Hands of *Cæsar*, he had cut it asunder, and made two Pendants of it, and therewith adorned the Statue of *Venus*. *Cleopatra*, to captivate *Antony* still more, never suffered him to be out of her Sight; but made it her whole Study to divert him, and bind him the faster in her Chains. She used to play at Dice with him; attend in all his Parties of Hunting, and whenever he exercised his Troops. Her only Care was, to amuse him agreeably, and not to give him time to feel the Weight of his Chains. *Antony* had followed her to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where they spent the Remainder of the Year in the Midst of the most riotous Delights.

Q. What was doing at *Rome* during this Interval?

A. *Cæsar* was extremely busy in settling the Affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the Lands among the Veterans, which gave him great Trouble; the Inhabitants of the several Towns, with their Wives and Children, that were to be dispossessed by the Soldiers, flocking to *Rome* in Crouds, and filling the City with Cries and Lamentations, which raised great Murmurs against *Cæsar*.

Ann. Rom. 713. In this Distribution, no City suffered more than *Cremona*, it having been strongly attached to *Brutus*'s Party, and *Mantua* met with the like Fate. On this Occasion *Virgil*, the Muses Darling, and one of the greatest Poets that ever lived, had like to have lost his Life; for a Centurion coming to dispossess him of his little Estate, and being opposed, *Virgil* was forced to fly, and had a very narrow Escape, as he swam over a River; which Removal, however, seems to have chiefly promoted his future Advancement, since it gave Rise to his first Eclogue. The many Disorders raised upon these Occasions, and the repeated Difficulties in which *Cæsar* was involved, gave the imperious *Fulvia*, *Mark Antony*'s Wife, a fair Opportunity to attempt the compassing of her Designs, the Chief of which was, to bring back her Husband to *Rome*; not to mention the Hatred she entertained against young *Cæsar*, for having divorced his Wife *Claudia*, who was her Daughter. As Provisions were extremely dear in *Rome*, and Trade very much decayed; these Circumstances,

(with

(with that of the Lands above mentioned) made the People extremely uneasy, upon which she prevailed with *Lepidus Antonius* the Consul (*Mark Antony's Brother*) to take up Arms, upon Pretence of protecting the Country-People, who were driven from their Habitations. The Troops he assembled having been let into *Rome* at Midnight, he drove *Lepidus*, one of the Triumvirs, from thence; made a Speech to the People; and declared, that (arguably to his Brother's Intentions) he resolved to abolish the Triumvirate. The greatest Joy was immediately diffused over the whole City, and *Lucius* was declared *Imperator*. He then marched against *Cæsar*, but being unable to keep the Field, he was forced to shut himself up in *Perusia*, a strong City in *Hetruria*, whence he made many bold and desperate Sallies; but being preyed upon by Famine, was at last forced to surrender, on which Occasion both himself and his Soldiers met with the gentlest Treatment from *Cæsar*. 'Tis not known what became afterwards of *Lucius Antonius*; but as for *Fulvia* she fled into *Greece*. This War being ended, *Cæsar* returned to *Rome*.

Q. Did not *Mark Antony* begin to wake from his Lethargy.

A. He was rouzed, upon receiving Advice of what had been transacted at *Rome*, and the Flight of his Wife and Friends from it; as also that the *Partbians* headed by their King, and assisted by *Labienus*, had seized upon *Syria*. He therefore got together 200 Ships, and a considerable Army which he had in those Parts, and intended to march immediately against the *Partbians*; but, at the pressing Solicitations of his Wife *Fulvia*, and his Friends, he went towards *Italy*. Being come to *Athens*, and meeting there with *Fulvia*, he blamed her very much for occasioning the late Disturbances; and here News was brought him, that young *Cæsar* had married *Scribonia*, Sister to *Libo*, Father-in-law to young *Pompey*, with whom *Cæsar* hoped to gain an Alliance by this Means. *Antony* being again suspicious of *Cæsar*, set out for *Italy*, leaving *Fulvia* sick in *Sicione*, where Grief for her Husband's Infidelity and Scorn soon killed her. *Antony* crossing the *Ionian Sea*, was there met by *Domitius*, who de-

livered up to him all his Fleet and Forces ; whence they sailed to *Brundusium*, but were forbid Entrance by the Garrison which young *Cæsar* had posted there. This occasioned such a Division between them, that *Antony* immediately blocked up the Place, and also got *Pompey* to invade *Italy*. *Cæsar* marched to *Brundusium*, where the Veterans being unwilling to fight against *Mark Antony*, a Reconciliation was endeavoured, and at last brought about by *Pollio* on *Antony's* Side, and *Mecænas* on that of young *Cæsar*. A Marriage was now proposed between *Octavia*, a Lady of the most exquisite Accomplishments both of Body and Mind, half Sister to young *Cæsar*, and Widow of *Claudius Marcellus*, who was Consul in 704, and died a little after the War of *Perusia*. There was great Reason to fear, that new Feuds would be for ever breaking out between *Mark Antony* and *Cæsar*, and the Civil Wars never cease, unless some Mediator should be found to reconcile them ; and nothing was judged so conducive to this, as the Marriage of *Antony* with *Octavia*. Tho' the former had so much Fondness for *Cleopatra*, he yet could not handsomely refuse so excellent a Lady as *Octavia*, and therefore to avoid all present Inconveniences, he married her. She had been dispensed, by a Decree of the Senate, from the Observance of a *Roman Law*, whereby all Widows were commanded to mourn ten Months for their Husbands, and not to marry again before the Expiration of that Term. And now a new Division was made of the *Roman Empire* between those Commanders ; the Bounds of their Dominions being settled at *Codropolis*, a Town of *Illyria* : The Countries from thence, Westward, were to obey young *Cæsar*, and all Eastward, *Antony*. *Lepidus*, whose Authority declined daily, had *Africa* ; to which Province he had been confined by young *Cæsar*.

Q. What were the next Transactions of the *Triumviri* ?

A. The People being now ready to starve for Want of Provisions, which *Pompey* kept from coming into *Rome*, made grievous Complaints upon that Account, and were going to stone both him and *Antony*. Tho' young *Cæsar* bore a great Hatred to *Pompey*, they yet were at last persuaded to come to an Interview, which was ineffectual,

by

by the latter's demanding large Privileges for the Persons proscribed, and to succeed *Lepidus* in his Place and Authority. Nevertheless, so strong was the Importunity of the People, that they had a second Interview, in which it was concluded, " That *Pompey* should retain all the Islands he already possessed, together with *Peloponnesus*; " that he might demand the Consulship in his Absence; " that he should leave the Sea open, and pay the People the Corn due to them out of *Sicily*; and that all the Persons proscribed, such excepted as were guilty of *Cæsar's* Death, should have Liberty to return home."

After this a Peace was concluded to the great Joy of the People. Consuls were *Ann. Rom.* 714. now appointed for the four succeeding

Years. *Cæsar*, to keep up the Vigour and Discipline of his Troops, sent part of them into *Illyricum*, and marched the rest into *Gaul*, where were some Commotions. *Antony* set out for the East against the *Partians*, over whom *Ventidius*, his Lieutenant, had gained several Victories, and repulsed them into *Media* and *Mesopotamia*. *Antony* settled the Affairs of *Syria* upon the Spot, and concluded a Peace with the King of *Comagenia*, who had assisted the *Partians*; and got the Kings whom he settled in those Parts, to be confirmed by a Decree of the Senate. He passed the Winter at *Athens* with *Octavia*, where he gave himself up to pleasure, laying aside all the Marks of his Authority.

Q. Did the younger *Pompey* continue satisfied?

A. He seemed to be so for a time, but afterwards a fresh Rupture ensued, the Pretence of which was, that *Antony*, who was bound by Treaty to quit *Peloponnesus*, scrupled to do it till *Pompey* had paid the Monies due to him by the Inhabitants. *Pompey* not consenting to this, immediately repeated his Cruisings, which again renewed the Grievances of the People. A Commander under the Younger *Pompey* revolting to *Cæsar*, the latter put to Sea in order to invade *Sicily*, but was defeated by *Pompey*, and in great Danger of his Life; and afterwards the greatest Part of his Ships were sunk by a furious Storm. *Cæsar* now fortified the Coasts of *Italy* to prevent an Invasion from *Pompey*, and sent to *Antony* for

Succour. But notwithstanding these Losses, he had Thoughts of a new Marriage, (the Temper of Scribonia being insupportable) and was so charmed with *Livia Drusilla*, that he took her from *Tiberius Nero* her Husband, tho' she was six Months gone with Child. In the mean time *Cæsar* was to be assisted by

Ann. Rom. 716. *Mark Antony*, who accordingly came into *Italy*, not so much to succour him, as to enquire into the State of Affairs, and to embrace any favourable Conjunctions that might offer. They now began to grow jealous again, and to complain of one another; and their former Animosity would very probably have broke out again, had not the excellent *Octavia* reconciled them; upon which the following Treaty was concluded: "That *Cæsar* should furnish *Antony* with "two Legions, to re-inforce his Army against the *Parthians*; that *Antony* should furnish *Cæsar* with 100 "armed Gallies to oppose *Pompey*; that one of *Antony's* "Sons should marry a Daughter of *Cæsar's*, &c." These Matters being adjusted, and the Duration of the Triumvirate prolonged five Years more, without the least Regard shewn to the Suffrages of either Senate or People, *Mark Antony* left *Cæsar* and his Wife *Octavia*, in order to go and march against the *Parthians*.

Q. What Succels had *Cæsar* against *Pompey*?

A. He now resolved, in Conjunction *Ann. Rom. 717.* with *Lepidus* and *Taurus*, to invade *Sicily* from three several Quarters; but his Fleet was again shattered by a Storm, which gave inexpressible Joy to *Pompey*. However, some time after, *Cæsar* sent out a new Force, under the Command of *Agrippa*, a most brave and faithful Officer, who landed his Troops in *Sicily*, after which a naval Engagement was fought; *Pompey* was quite defeated, but escaped, with only 17 Ships, he intending to fly to *Antony*. At the sight of this signal Overthrow, *Pompey's* Forces in the Island surrendered to *Agrippa*; after which *Messana* opening its Gates to him, all *Sicily* was subjected. But *Cæsar* having triumphed over all the Republicans, thought it time to break with his Colleagues. He wanted to reign singly, and therefore was determined, if possible, to rid himself of

of them. He easily got *Lepidus* out of the way. This Triumvir, being little esteemed by his Soldiers, was abandoned by them in the Midst of his Camp, which *Cæsar* became Master of by his artful Conduct and his secret Negotiations. He then divested *Lepidus* of the supreme Authority ; after which this Triumvir was reduced to so abject a State, that he became an Object of Pity to his most inveterate Enemies. With regard to the younger *Pompey*, he at first, as was said before, had Thoughts of flying for Refuge to *Antony* ; knowing that there was not a good Understanding between him and *Cæsar* ; but hearing that the *Parthians* had gained some Advantage over him, he changed his Resolution, and resolved to fly to *Pbraates*, Brother to *Orodes*, and to fight in Cojunction with him against *Antony*. However, the last-mentioned having Advice of his Design, sent some Persons who killed him ; he being 40 Years of Age, and at that time in *Pbrygia*. *Ann. Rom.* 718.

Q. Whither did *Cæsar* go now ?

A. To *Rome*, where he was received with universal Joy. The Senators met him at the Gates, and conducted him to the Capitol, followed by all the People, crowned with Chaplets of Flowers ; whence, after he had returned Thanks to the Immortals, they waited upon him to his Palace. *Cæsar* now bent his whole Thoughts to the winning the Affections of the People ; and he endeavoured to restore the public Tranquillity of the City, it having been lately very much infested with Thieves and Robbers, whom he punished, and appointed some Companies to guard *Rome*. For these and many other Regulations, he attracted the Veneration of the People, and some Cities of *Italy* erected Altars to him. One Act of his endeared him particularly to them : *Cæsar* having found a considerable Number of Letters and Memorials of the principal Senators among *Pompey's* Papers, that might have created new Disturbances ; he brought them all into the *Forum*, and burnt them in Presence of the People, declaring, “ That he there sacrificed all his private Resentment to the Good of the Commonwealth ; and was determined to give up all his Authority, when *Mark Antony* should be returned from

“*the Partbian War.*” The People were so well pleased with this Declaration, that they created him Tribune for Life, hoping rhat he would lay aside the Title of *Triumvir*; however he deferred the Suppression of the Triumvirate till *Antony’s Return*, and sent *Bibulus* to communicate his Design to him; after which he set out against the People of *Illyricum*.

Q. What were *Antony* and *Cleopatra* doing in *Egypt*?

A. That Queen, in the Midst of her violent Passions, and perpetual Hurry of Pleasures, still preserved a Tafte for the polite Arts. She restored, in a great Measure, the famous Library of *Alexandria*, which had been burnt. She used to read, and was Mistress of a great many Languages. *Cleopatra*, looking upon herself as the lawful Wife of *Antony*, could not bear the Thoughts of his Marriage with *Ottavia*, whom she considered as her Rival: So that *Antony*, to pacify her, gave her *Phœnicia*, *Lower Syria*, *Cyprus*, a great Part of *Cilicia*, and Part of *Judea* and *Arabia*, which greatly disgusted the *Romans*. *Antony* after this made some Expeditions against the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, but very little to his Honour. In one of these, the Temple of *Anaitis*, a Goddess greatly revered by a People of *Armenia*, was plundered; and her Statue of solid Gold, broke to Pieces by the Soldiers, which enriched many of them considerably. One of them, (a Veteran) who was settled at *Bononia* in *Italy*, being afterwards honoured with *Augustus’s* Company at his House; whilst they were at Supper, says *Cæsar* to his Host, “ Is it true that the Man who first laid his Hands on the Statue, was struck blind, “ lost the use of his Limbs, and immediately expired ? ”

—“ Were that Fact, (replied the Soldier, with a “ Smile) I should not have the Honour to see *Cæsar* in “ my House; I being the rash Man who struck the first “ Blow, and that very luckily; for I owe all I have “ in the World to the good Goddess, and your High- “ ness is now supping upon one of her Legs.” *Antony* imagining he had completely settled the Affairs of those Countries, and being impatient to return to *Cleopatra*, he brought back his Troops with so much Haste, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, and the Abundance

dance of the Snows, that he lost 8000 Men in his March, and arrived in *Phœnicia* with a few Soldiers. He there waited for *Cleopatra*; and as she long delayed coming, he was seized with the deepest Melancholy; however, she at last arrived, bringing Cloths and Money for the Soldiers.

Q. Was not *Oætavia* very much discontented at this?

A. She set out to meet *Antony*, with *Cæsar's* Consent, who gave it in no other View, but that *Antony's* Passion for *Cleopatra* might prompt him to use *Oætavia* ill; and that this, exciting the Indignation of the *Romans* against *Antony*, he thereby should have just Cause to draw the Sword against him. This succeeded according to his Wishes. *Oætavia* received a Letter from her Husband, by which she was ordered to come no farther than *Atbens*, and accordingly she stopt there. In the mean time *Cleopatra*, who dreaded very much the Charms and Graces of *Oætavia*, employed all the Artifices imaginable to prevent his going away. She assumed an Air of Melancholy, and would frequently let fall a Tear at his coming in; but would immediately wipe it away, and affect to conceal what she had done, as thought she was unwilling to let him perceive her Weakness and Disorder. *Antony* was so moved at her Sorrow, that he ordered *Oætavia* to go back to *Rome*. At her Return to it she would not leave her Husband's House, tho' strongly importuned to it by *Cæsar*; and still residing there took the greatest Care of her Family. She behaved with the same Indulgence towards the Children of *Antony* and *Fulvia* as ever, and bestowed the utmost Pains on their Education. She loved her Husband, notwithstanding his ill Usage of her; and could not bear to think that the ungenerous Treatment she had met with, should light up a new Civil War. What an Opposition of Characters have we here! How amiably venerable does *Oætavia* appear in the Midst of repeated Insults; and how wretchedly abject does *Cleopatra* seem, tho' surrounded with the utmost Magnificence! *Cleopatra* had Recourse to every Artifice to keep *Antony* in her Chains, for which Purpose Tears, Caresses, Reproaches, and Threats were employed. She had bribed all who approached him; and those representing,

presenting, that it would be inhuman in him to abandon *Cleopatra*, since she was dying for Love of him ; he returned speedily to *Alexandria*, and suspended his Expedition against the *Parthians* till next
Ann. Rom. 719. Spring. This being come, he left *Egypt* with the utmost Reluctance ; when after possessing himself (in no very honourable Manner) of *Armenia*, he returned in Triumph to *Alexandria*, the King of *Armenia*, laden with Golden Chains, following his Chariot, and presented him to *Cleopatra*, who not long after made him promise to bestow the *Roman Empire* upon her. Before he set out upon the last-mentioned Expedition, he had caused *Cleopatra*, and all her Children, to be crowned with the greatest Splendor and Magnificence ; himself being habited like *Bacchus*, and the Queen like *Iris*.

Q. Did *Antony* march any more against the *Parthians* ?

A. He was advanced for that Purpose

Ann. Rom. 720. as far as the Banks of the *Araxes* ; but the News which was brought from *Rome*, obliged him to lay aside that Expedition. Immediately he detached 16 Legions, under the Command of *Canidius*, to the *Ionian Sea* ; and soon came up with them at *Ephesus*, where he halted, in order that he might be near at hand, in case of an open Rupture between him and *Cæsar*. *Cleopatra* coming thither to *Antony*, his Friends advised him to send her back into *Egypt* ; but that Princess employing *Canidius* to speak for her, upon his Remonstrances she was permitted to stay. From *Ephesus* they went to the Island of *Samos*, which was the Rendezvous of the greatest part of the Forces ; and here *Antony* and *Cleopatra* lived as luxuriously as they had done in *Egypt*. On one Side, a great Number of Kings had Orders to send Arms, Provisions, and Soldiers to this Island ; and, on the other, all the Comedians, Dancers, Musicians, and Buffoons, were commanded to repair to it ; so that frequently when a Ship was thought to come loaded with Arms and Ammunition, it proved to be Players, Scenes, and Machines. But now *Antony's* Temper began to be soured, insomuch that he suspected *Cleopatra*

Cleopatra herself, and fancied she intended to poison him, for which Reason he would never touch any Meats till after she had first tasted of them. The Queen perceiving his Diffidence, poisoned the Tops of the Flowers that composed the Crowns, which herself and *Antony*, according to the Custom of the Ancients, used to wear at Table. Being now inflamed with Wine, *Cleopatra* desired *Antony* to drink those Flowers. He did not stand for much invitation, so breaking off the Tops of them with his Fingers, and throwing them into a Goblet of Wine, he was going to drink it, but the Queen holding his Arm; "I, (says she) am the Poisoner of whom you are so very suspicious. But now judge whether I should want Opportunities to dispatch you, were I grown tired, or could live without you." Upon this, ordering a Prisoner to be brought in, who was sentenced to die, she obliged him to drink off the Liquor, and he expired immediately. From hence the Court removed to *Athens*, where *Antony* and *Cleopatra* still continued their riotous Course of Life.

Q. What was doing in *Rome*?

A. *Caius Sosius* and *Domitius Aenobarbus*, the new Consuls, having declared openly for *Antony*, left *Rome*, Ann. Rom. 721. and went over to him. *Cæsar* pretended that he had given them Leave to go; and declared publicly, that all Persons might retire from the City, and go whithersoever they thought proper. By this he remained Master of *Rome*; and ordered all things for his own Interest, in Opposition to that of *Mark Antony*. The latter having Advice of this, assembled all the Chiefs of his Party; and the Result of their Deliberations was that he should denounce War against *Cæsar*, and divorce *Oktavia*, and accordingly he did both. *Antony's* Military Preparations were in such Forwardness, that had he marched against *Cæsar* without Loss of Time, he would certainly have overpowered him; his Rival not being then in a Condition to oppose him either by Sea or Land. But he was intoxicated by Pleasures, and suspended the Operations of War till next Spring; so that *Cæsar* had time sufficient to assemble all his Forces. *Antony* being determined

terminated to divorce *Otavia*, sent Deputies to *Rome*, to notify it there. They were likewise ordered to turn her and all her Children out of his Palace ; and, in case of Refusal, to drive her away by Force, and leave in it none but the Son whom *Fulvia* had brought him. This was so much the greater Outrage, as it was caused by a Rival ; but *Otavia* stifling her Resentment, answered the Deputies only by Tears ; and notwithstanding the Injustice of these Orders, she obeyed them, and went away with her Children. She then endeavoured to appease the Indignation of the People, who were exasperated at this Action ; and she did all that lay in her Power to soften *Cæsar's* Resentment. The Remonstrances she made use of on that Occasion, had a quite different Effect from what she suspected ; for the People, charmed with her Virtue, pitied her Misfortunes, and hated *Antony* still more. *Otavia* had had, by her first Husband, a Son named *Marcellus*, who was a Youth of very great Merit, and had married young *Cæsar's* Daughter. He was looked upon as presumptive Heir of the Empire, and died, the Year of *Rome* 731, in the Bloom of Life. *Otavia* was so afflicted at his Death, that being quite inconsolable, she spent the Remainder of her Days in Solitude, and the deepest Melancholy. She died the Year of *Rome* 744, and left two Daughters whom she had by *Antony*, and who married to great Advantage.

Q. Was not *Antony's* Will brought forth ?

A. It had been left with the Vestals, which being divulged to *Cæsar*, he, with great Difficulty, got it out of their Hands, and read it in the Assembly of the People. Its Purport was as follows : 1. That *Antony* recognized *Cæsarion*, as legitimate Son to *Julius Cæsar*.
 " 2. That he appointed as his Heirs the Children he
 " had by *Cleopatra*, with the Title of King of Kings.
 " 3. That in case he should die in *Rome*, his Body after
 " having been carried in Pomp through that City, should
 " be laid on a Bed of State, and be afterwards sent to
 " *Cleopatra*, whom he appointed to solemnize his Funeral." However some Authors look upon this Will as a supposititious Piece, and drawn up by *Cæsar*, merely to

to make *Antony* more odious to the People. Besides this Will, a Report was spread, that *Antony* in case his Arms were prosperous, intended to bestow *Rome* on *Cleopatra*, and to transfer the Seat of the Empire to *Egypt*.

Q. Did *Antony* and *Cæsar* proceed to Hostilities?

A. The latter having raised a Land Army, and equipped a Fleet, declared likewise War against his Enemy, judging that he now had a Force sufficient to oppose him. But in the Proclamation published by the People for that Purpose, *Cleopatra's* Name, only, was mentioned; *Cæsar* not being willing to include that of *Antony*, particularly not to disgust the Adherents of that *Roman*: and to render him the more inexcusable in making War against his Country, only for the Sake of an *Egyptian* Woman.

Antony returned from *Atbens* to *Samos*, where his whole Fleet had rendezvoused. *Ann.Rom.* 723. It consisted of 500 Ships of War of an extraordinary Structure and Bulk, so that they looked like so many floating Islands. On this Fleet there embarked 200,000 Foot, and 12,000 Horse. Several Kings of *Asia* were there in Person, and others had sent Succours. This Fleet exhibited a most pompous Spectacle, when put to Sea; but the Magnificence of *Cleopatra's* Galley surpasses all Description. Every part of it glittered with Gold; its Sails and Streamers of Purple Silk sported in the Winds; during which the Trumpets and other Instruments of War sounded Airs of Joy and Triumph. This Queen, intoxicated with her Grandeur, threatened to burn the Capitol; and was preparing, with her Bands of infamous Eunuchs, to quite destroy the *Roman* Empire. With Regard to *Cæsar's* Fleet, it was not so splendid, but much fitter for Service than that of *Antony*. He had but 250 Ships, with 80,000 Foot, and the same Number of Horse as his Enemy. All his Soldiers and Sailors were chosen Men; and his Ships were lighter, and much fitter for Action, than those of *Antony*. *Cæsar* had his Rendezvous at *Brundusium* and *Antony* advanced as far as *Corcyra*; but the Season for fighting being past, they laid up their Fleets in good Harbours, and displayed their Hatred by mutual Reproaches and satirical Letters.

Q. Please

Q. Please to go on with the Course of this War.

A. As soon as the Season would permit, both Parties brought forth their respective Armies. The two Fleets sailed into the Gulph of *Ambracia* in *Epirus*. The bravest and most experienced Officers under *Antony*, advised him not to hazard a Naval Engagement; but to send away *Cleopatra*, and to get on Shore in *Tbrace*, or *Macedonia*, and there fight on Land, as he had a much finer Army than *Cæsar*, and his Fleet was vastly inferior; but *Cleopatra* being of a different Opinion, because she could escape with greater Ease, in case *Antony* should lose the Day, a Naval Engagement was resolved. The Battle was fought on the 2d of September, in the Gulph of *Ambracia* near the City of *Actium*, in Sight of the Land Armies, one of which was drawn up in Battle-array on the North, and the other on the South Side of this Coast, waiting the Event of the Battle. Victory was doubtful for some time, till *Cleopatra* terrified at the Noise, unexpectedly tacked about, and fled towards *Peloponnesus* with 60 Sail. *Antony* seeing her draw off, and being quite lost to Reflection and to himself, crowded all the Sail possible after her; and yielded to *Cæsar*, a Victory, which he till then had bravely disputed with him. However, it still cost the Conqueror dear; for *Antony's* Ships exerted themselves so gallantly after his Flight, that, although the Battle began about Noon, it did not end till Night came on, so that *Cæsar's* Troops were obliged to spend it on board their Ships. *Agrippa* displayed great Bravery and Conduct on this Occasion.

Q. What followed after this?

A. *Cæsar* perceiving that he had gained a complete Victory, sent a Squadron in Pursuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, which soon returned, finding it would be impossible to overtake them. *Antony* getting to *Cleopatra*, who was on board the Admiral, went and seated himself on the Stern, where laying his Head on his Hands, and his Arms on his Knees, he appeared like a distracted Person, who, overwhelmed with Melancholy, was reflecting on his ill Conduct, and the Calamity it had brought upon him. He continued three Days in this gloomy Condition, till their Arrival at *Tenarus*, without seeing or speaking

speaking to *Cleopatra*; but afterwards they came together, and lived as usual. This Victory was of the highest Advantage to *Cæsar*, for all *Antony's* Land Forces, (under the Command of *Canidius*) tho' very stout and resolute for some time, seeing themselves abandoned by their General, were soon after willing to accept of such Conditions as *Cæsar* offered; and accordingly they submitted to him. *Cæsar* generously spared all but a very few, who were his professed and most inveterate Enemies.

Q. What became of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*?

A. The latter sailed from *Tenarus* for *Alexandria*; and the former made for *Lybia*, where he had left a considerable Army; but upon his Landing, he heard that it had revolted to *Cæsar*. He was so afflicted at the News, that he was going to kill himself, but was diverted from that Resolution by his Friends; upon which he resolved to follow *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*. This Princess, at her going into that Port, fearing that should the Inhabitants hear of *Antony's* Defeat, they would shut their Gates against her; she therefore caused Crowns to be fixed on her Ships, in order that it might be supposed *Antony* had gained the Victory. Being arrived in the City, she put to death several of the greatest Noblemen of her Kingdom, for fear lest the News of her Defeat should prompt them to take up Arms against her. *Antony* arrived soon after; and now she meditated (in order to escape from *Cæsar*) a very extraordinary Attempt, which was, to put all her Treasures on board severals Ships, and carry them by Land, from the *Mediterranean* into the *Red Sea*, over the *Isthmus*; and afterwards retire to some remote Part of the World, with a few chosen Friends; but the *Arabians* setting Fire to the Ships, she was obliged to lay aside her Design, and thereupon she prevailed with *Antony* to join with her in sending Embassadors to sue for Peace; but was so treacherous, (Ambition triumphing over Love on this Occasion) as to order her Embassadors to negotiate a separate Treaty for her. *Cæsar* would not admit *Antony's* Embassadors to Audience; but he gave a favourable Reception to those of the Queen, he being passionately desirous of securing both her Person and Treasures; the former to adorn his Triumph, and the

the latter to enable him to pay the Debts he had contracted, to defray the Expences of this War.

Q. What was *Antony* doing ?

A. Ever since his last Arrival in *Egypt* Ann. Rom. 724. he had withdrawn to a Country-seat, which he had built for that Purpose on the Banks of the *Nile*, near the *Pharos*, there to enjoy the Conversation of two philosophical Friends who had followed him. In this Solitude he at first seemed to take a Pleasure in hearing the sage Discourses of his Companions ; but as it was not possible for them to suppress in him the Passion he had for *Cleopatra*, (the only Cause of all his Misfortunes) it soon resumed its former Empire. He now returned to *Alexandria* ; abandoned himself again to the Charms and destructive Endearments of *Cleopatra* ; and, to please her, sent a second Deputation to *Cæsar*, on which Occasion he did not blush to offer to lead a private Life in *Athens*, provided *Cæsar* would leave *Cleopatra* and her Children in the quiet Enjoyment of the Kingdom of *Egypt*. The Deputies not succeeding, *Antony* endeavoured to drown his Cares in Wine ; and *Cleopatra* and he returned again to their riotous Excesses. But now the Queen (fearing a sad Reverse of Fortune) got together all Sorts of Poisons ; and tried their Effects on Criminals condemned to die, in order to find which of them put to the least Pain. Having found by Experiments, that the strongest Poisons killed immediately, but threw the Patient into violent Agonies ; and that those of a gentle Kind brought on Death in a slow, but easy Manner ; she tried the bite of venomous Creatures, and found that the Asp (a little Serpent) was the only one which did not cause Pains and Convulsions ; but which, after spreading a soft Languor over all the Senses, and moistening the Face, gently extinguished the Lamp of Life ; so that Persons in this Condition were uneasy at being awaked, like those who are oppressed with Sleep : She therefore resolved to chuse this kind of Death.

Q. Did not she endeavour to conceal her Design from *Antony* ?

A. In order to remove all his Suspicions, she now discovered a greater Fondness than ever ; so that when her Birth-

Birth-day came, she kept it in a manner suitable to their unhappy Condition ; but that of *Antony* was solemnized with greater Magnificence than had been seen ; and a great Part of the Guests were enriched by the noble Presents she made them in Honour of *Antony*. *Cæsar* was now in *Italy*, whither he was called by Letters from *Agrippa*, after having spent Part of the Winter in *Athens*, and the Remainder in the Island of *Samos*. The Occasion of his Return was the Mutiny of his Soldiers, whom he had sent to *Brundusium* after the Victory ; and who (as was customary) insisted upon their Rewards and Discharge. *Cæsar*, after appeasing his Soldiers, and giving the necessary Orders, sailed from *Brundusium* towards *Egypt* with his Fleet ; whilst his Army marched along the Coast of *Africa*, in order to invade *Egypt* on the other Side. All the Monarchs of *Asia* came now to pay him their Submission ; but none shewed more Zeal on this Occasion than *Herod*, King of *Judea*, who went to *Rhodes* to offer *Cæsar* his Crown, his Person, and Forces. *Herod* had been one of *Mark Antony*'s greatest Friends, and he therefore had so little Hopes of succeeding by his Voyage, that (following the Dictates of his Cruelty) he commanded two Persons in whom he reposed the strongest Confidence, to put *Mariamne* his Queen, of whom he was distractedly fond, to death, in case any Misfortune should befall him. The Secret being revealed to *Mariamne*, and *Herod* reproached with it at his Return to *Judea*, it cost that beautiful Queen, who was worthy a better Fate, her Life. *Cæsar*, as a remarkable Example of his Clemency, pardoned *Herod* ; left him in the quiet Possession of his Kingdom, and received him into Favour.

Q. What was *Cæsar*'s next Enterprize ?

A. Fully sensible that it was of the highest Importance to him, not to leave his Victory unfinished, he passed into *Syria*, and coming to *Pelusium*, *Seleucus* surrendered it to him ; he having received private Orders for that Purpose from *Cleopatra* ; which being known, and occasioning great Murmurings, *Cleopatra*, to clear herself, delivered *Seleucus*'s Wife and Children into *Antony*'s Hands, in order that he might put them to death.

What

What a Monster was this Queen ! the most odious Vices were complicated in her Person ; an absolute Renunciation of all Modesty ; a violent Propension to Fraud, Injustice and Cruelty ; and, what is worst of all, a most detestable Hypocrisy. *Cleopatra* had built, adjoining to the Temple of *Isis*, an Edifice, (designed for a Sepulchre) equally beautiful and magnificent. Thither she carried her most precious Moveables, her Treasures and Jewels, with a great Quantity of Perfumes and aromatic Wood ; as tho' she intended to raise a funeral Pile. *Cæsar*, fearing lest Despair should prompt this Queen to burn herself in it, with those immense Riches, sent her the kindest Messages during his March to *Alexandria*. Being now come near to that City, he pitched his Camp in the *Hippodrome*, hoping he should soon possess himself of the City, by means of the secret Intelligence he held with *Cleopatra*, on which he depended no less than on his Forces. But the near Approach of so formidable a Rival began once more to rouze *Antony*, and accordingly he prepared for a stout Defence. He made a vigorous Sally ; and, after making a dreadful Havock of the Besiegers, returned victorious into the City. This was the last Effort of an expiring Valour, which exhausted in this Exploit all its remaining Strength and its Sensations of Glory. Instead of pursuing his Victory, and keeping a watchful Eye over *Cleopatra*, who betrayed him, he flew in his Armour to her, and threw himself at her Feet. The Palace in *Alexandria* echoed with Acclamations, as though the Siege had been raised ; and *Antony* and *Cleopatra* spent that Day and Part of the Night in feasting and carouzing.

Q. What was done on the Morrow ?

A. *Antony* resolved to make a last Attempt both by Sea and Land, with a full Resolution to conquer or die. He ordered his Attendants to fill him out Wine plentifully, saying, " This perhaps may be the last Service you will be able to do me ; for To-morrow you may change your Master, whilst I lie stretched on the Ground, and contemned by the whole World." In the Dead of Night, when the whole City were in Slumbers, suddenly was heard a dreadful Noise of Voices, Instruments and Howlings,

Howlings, like those of Bacchanals, which proceeded thro' *Alexanderia*, and passed out at the Gate that faced the Enemy's Camp. Day appearing, *Antony* drew up his Land-Forces on some rising Grounds out of the City; and from thence beheld his Gallies which were rowing out of the Port, and going to attack those of *Cæsar*. But how great was his Astonishment, when he saw *Cleopatra*'s Admiral striking to *Cæsar*, and deliver up all the Fleet to him! *Antony*'s Cavalry seeing this, deserted him and went over to *Cæsar*'s Camp: his Infantry being forced to yield. This manifest Treachery opened *Antony*'s Eyes, and made him believe, but too late, all that his Friends had assured with regard to the Treachery of the Queen. In this Extremity, he thought to do a glorious Act of Courage, in challenging *Cæsar* to fight him in single Combat; but the only Answer the latter sent, was, that if he were weary of living, he might chuse some other kind of Death. Upon this, *Antony*, tortured with Fury and Despair, came back into the City, and flew to the Palace, with a firm Resolution to murder *Cleopatra*, but did not find her there.

Q. What was become of her?

A. This intriguing Princess, to secure herself from the Indignation of *Antony*, had retired to a District of the City, in which were the Tombs of the Kings of *Egypt*. It was defended by strong Walls, and she had ordered the Gates of it to be shut. She then spread a Report, that preferring an honourable Death to an ignominious Captivity, she had killed herself in the Midst of the Tombs of her Ancestors, which she likewise had chosen for her own Sepulchre. *Antony* did not give himself Leisure to examine a Rumour, the Truth of which he ought naturally to have suspected; but struck at the Thoughts of her Death, and seized with the deepest Affliction, he cryed, "O wretched *Antony*! What hast thou to do in this World, now Fate has torn from thee the only Object which made Life sup- portable?" Saying which, he resolved to follow her to the Grave. Having formed this Resolution, he shut himself in his Apartment with none but *Eros* his Freedman, when taking off his Coat of Mail, he commanded

Eros

Eros to plunge a Sword into his Bosom ; but his Freed-man, faithful to, and fond of his Master, stabbed himself, and fell dead at his Feet. *Antony* seeing this, cried, " Dear *Eros*, I thank thee for this Example thou hast set me ;" upon which he thrust the Sword into his own Breast, and sunk on the Floor, where he mixed his Blood with that of his Freed-man ; a Moment after which a Messenger came to him from the Queen, with Advice that she was not dead.

Q. What Effect had this on *Antony* ?

A. He no sooner heard *Cleopatra's* Name, but he recovered from his Swoon ; and finding that she was living he suffered his Wound to be dressed, and got himself carried to the Sepulchre where she had immured herself. *Cleopatra* would not suffer him to come in at the Gate for fear of a Surprize ; but came herself to a high Window, and thence let down Chains and Ropes. To these *Antony* was fixed ; when *Cleopatra*, assisted by her two Female Attendants, (who were the only Persons she had admitted into the Monument with her,) drew him up. All the People of *Alexandria* were present at this Spectacle, than which a more moving had never been seen. *Antony* covered with Blood, and with Death strongly imprinted on his Countenance, was turning his dying Eyes towards *Cleopatra*, and stretching forth his Hands to her, as tho' he conjured her to receive his last Gasp ; whilst *Cleopatra*, with a mournful Aspect, and outstretched Arms, drew the Ropes with all her Strength ; during which the People below encouraged her with their Cries, these being the only Assistance they could give her. Having drawn him up, she clasped him in her Arms, and laying him on her Bed, tore her Robes over him, and beat her Breast ; then wiping away the Blood, with her Cheek fixed to his, she called him her Lord, her Prince, her dear Husband. Whilst she was making this sad Moan, she cut off *Antony's* Hair ; this being a superstitious Custom among the Antients, who imagined that it administered Ease to those who died a violent Death.

Q. Did *Antony* recover himself a little ?

A. Her

A. Her Cries recalling his fainting Spirits, and seeing the Affliction she was in, he, to comfort her, said, that he should die in Peace, since he should expire in her Arms ; and that he did not blush at his Defeat, since he had been vanquished by *Romans*. He then exhorted her to save her Life and Honour, provided she could do this upon Honourable Terms ; bid her guard both against the Traitors in her Court, and those among *Cæsar's* Followers, and to trust none but *Proculeius* ; saying which Words he expired, in the fifty-third Year of his Age. His Death put an End to all the Civil Wars, and gave *Cæsar* an Opportunity of completing his Exaltation. And now *Proculeius* arrived from *Cæsar*, who could not refrain from Tears at the Relation he heard, and at seeing *Antony's* bloody Sword, which was presented to him. *Proculeius* had particular Orders to seize upon *Cleopatra* ; and, if possible, to bring her alive. The Queen refused to go with him, but permitted him to speak to her from without. They conversed for a considerable time thro' the Crevasses of the Gate ; she still demanding the Kingdom for her Children ; and he exhorting her to entertain the most favourable Hopes, and to rely upon *Cæsar*. *Proculeius*, after having observed the Situation of the Sepulchre, went and made his Report to *Cæsar*, who sent *Gallus* to speak with her, which he did in the same manner as *Proculeius*. During this, the latter bringing a Ladder, and being followed by two Officers, got in at the Window where *Antony* had been drawn up ; and went down to the Gate where *Cleopatra* was talking to *Gallus*. One of the Female Attendants seeing him, shrieked and cried, “ Ill-fated Prince, thou art taken.” *Cleopatra* seeing him, was going to stab herself, when *Proculeius* taking her in his Arms ; “ You injure (says he) both *Cæsar* and yourself, in attempting to deprive him of so no noble an Opportunity to exert his Clemency.” He soon seized her Dagger, and shook her Robes, to see whether any Poison was concealed in them. *Cæsar* then sent *Epaphroditus*, one of his Freed-men, to guard *Cleopatra* ; commanding him to serve her like a Queen, and to prevent her from killing herself.

Q. Did

Q. Did not *Cæsar* march into *Alexandria* ?

A. The Gates being thrown open to him, he entered the City ; and finding the People in the utmost Terrors about their Fate, he afterwards told them, “ that he would pardon them for the Sake of *Alexander* their Founder ; for the extraordinary Beauty of their City ; and for the great Merit of *Areus* the Philosopher, their Fellow-Citizen.” In the mean time *Proculeius* waiting upon *Cleopatra*, in *Cæsar*’s Name, to know what she had to request of him ; she only desired the Permission to bury *Antony* ; which was immediately granted. She then solemnized his Funeral with the utmost Splendor, according to the Manner of the *Egyptians* ; embalming his Body with the most precious Perfumes of the *East*, and lodging it in the Sepulchre of the Kings of *Egypt*. *Cæsar* did not think it decent to visit her immediately after the Interment ; but in a few Days, he came into her Apartment, after Leave had been granted ; he treating her outwardly with Civility, in order to conceal his Design. He found her reclined on a small Bed, in a plain and very negligent Dress. At his coming in, tho’ she had only a kind of Jacket on, she rose up immediately, and threw herself at his Feet ; she being strangely disfigured, her Hair in the utmost Disorder, her Countenance wild and bloody, her Speech faltering, her Eyes almost sunk in her Head with crying, and her Breast covered with Bruises and Scars. Nevertheless, those native Graces, and that Haughtiness which her Beauty inspired, were not quite extinguished ; and, notwithstanding the sad Condition to which she was reduced, from the Midst of this Sorrow and Despondency, there issued, as from a Gloomy Cloud, a kind of Rays, which played in her Looks, and in every Motion of her Face. Tho’ almost dying, she yet hoped to inspire this young Conqueror with Love, as she had before done *Julius Cæsar* and *Antony*.

Q. How did their Conference end ?

A. The Apartment she was in being hung with different Portraits of *Julius Cæsar* ; “ Those (says she, pointing to them) are the Images of the Man who adopted you his Successor to the *Roman Empire*, and

“ to

" to whom I owe my Crown." Then taking from her Bosom some Letters she had concealed in it ; " Here (continued she, kissing them) are the dear Pledges of his Love." She afterwards read some of the tenderest of them ; casting at the same time the most passionate Glances, and employing the most moving Expressions. But *Cæsar* did not seem to be affected either with her Person or Discourse ; and only advised her not to despise, declaring, that he would treat her with all possible Tenderness. She perceived his Coolness, but concealed her Thoughts, and thanked him for the Compliments which *Proculeius* had made her in his Name. She even gave him an Inventory of all her Treasure and Jewels, on which Occasion *Seleucus* her Treasurer accusing her of concealing several Things, *Cleopatra* beat him severely ; and turning to *Cæsar*, " Is it not (says she) a horrid Shame, that at a time when you are doing me the Honour to visit me, a Slave of mine should accuse me of secreting some female Toys, alas! not to adorn an unhappy Wretch like myself, but to present them to *Ottavia* and *Livia*, that their Intercession may procure me your Favour ?" Some think that she beat *Seleucus* only that she might have an Opportunity of shewing *Cæsar* her beautiful Shape, and graceful Body ; but however this be, he was overjoyed to hear her speak in this Manner, not doubting, but that it proceeded from her Love of Life. He said, that she might dispose of her Jewels as she thought proper ; and after giving her the kindest Assurances, he left the Queen, upon the Supposition that he had over-reached her, whereas he himself was deceived.

Q. In what Manner did *Cleopatra* die ?

A. Hearing that *Cæsar* resolved to send her and her Children away within three Days, she conjured him to let her pay her last Oblations to the Manes of *Antony*, which he granted. She then went into his magnificent Sepulchre, to water *Antony*'s Grave with her Tears, and to assure him, (she addressing her Discourse to the dead Hero as tho' he had been alive) that she would soon give him a stronger Proof of her Love. After making this

fatal Protestation, which was accompanied with Floods of Tears and deep Sighs, she crowned the Tomb with Garlands of Flowers, and returned to her Apartment. She then went into the Bath ; and from thence to the Table, she having ordered a splendid Entertainment to be served up. Rising afterwards, she wrote a Letter to *Cæsar*, wherein she earnestly desired to be laid in the same Tomb with *Antony* : and having cleared the Room of every one except *Charmion* and *Iras*, her two Women, she ordered the Door to be shut ; and then throwing herself on her Couch, she called for a Basket of Figs, which a Peasant had just brought her. *Cleopatra* set it down by her, and a Moment after lay down on her Couch, as tho' she were going to sleep. But an Asp, which was hid in the Figs, having stung her in the Arm, the Venom had diffused itself to her Heart, and killed her imperceptibly, and without Pain. The supposed Peasant was one of the Queen's Domestics, who had eluded the Vigilance of the Guards. *Cæsar* having received *Cleopatra*'s Letter, dispatched a

Ann. Rom. 724. Messenger in all Haste to her, but the found her dead on a Golden Couch, dressed in Royal Robes, and in the Posture of one asleep, with *Iras* also dead at her Feet, and *Charmion* just expiring. *Cæsar* was very much troubled at *Cleopatra*'s Death, it depriving him of the noblest Ornament of his Triumph ; however, he could not but admire the Greatness of her Courage. He ordered her a magnificent Funeral, laying her Body by that of *Antony*, as she had requested ; and her Women were buried with considerable Pomp, in Memory of their Fidelity. *Cleopatra* died at 39 Years of Age, having reigned 22, 12 whereof she had passed with *Antony*. This Queen was too haughty, and too much above the common Rank, to suffer herself to be dragged at the Wheels of a Triumphant Chariot ; which Reflexion inspiring her with the most savage Resolutions, she beheld the Approaches of Death with a calm and serene Eye. The Statues of *Antony* were now demolished, but those of *Cleopatra* were left standing, for which Favour one *Archilius* paid a Thousand

Thousand Talents to *Cæsar*. After *Cleopatra's* Death, *Egypt* was made a *Roman Province*, and governed by a *Praefect* sent from *Rome* for that Purpose.

Q. Whither did *Cæsar* go now?

A. To *Italy*; and as the *Roman* Do- Ann. Rom. 725. *minions* were greatly enlarged by the *Acquisition of Egypt*, and the *Victories* of *Cæsar* brought *Peace* to the *Roman State*, he was received in *Rome* as a *Conqueror*, who had put an *End* to the *Miseries* and *Calamities* of both *Nations*. He triumphed during three *Days* with extraordinary *Magnificence*, first for *Illyri-
cum*, secondly for the *Victory at Adium*, and thirdly for the *Conquest of Egypt*. On this Occasion the *Temple of Janus* was shut, (which was the third Time since the *Foundation of Rome*) after having stood open 205 Years. *Cæsar* now seeing himself supreme *Governor* of the *Roman Empire*, resolved to exert all the *Clemency* of a good-natured *Prince*, and the *Cunning* of a refined *Politician*. His first Care was to win over *Antony's* *Adhe-
rents*; after which he gave sumptuous Entertainments to the *Senators* and chief *Magistrates*, and exhibited splendid *Shews* and *Plays* to amuse the *People*. He regulated, with great *Wisdom*, the many *Abuses* in the *State*; banished *Corruption* from the *Senate*, and allowed the *Peo-
ple* all *decent* and *reasonable Liberties*: So that the latter were not less free, except in *Matters of Sedition*, nor the former less powerful, but in *Affairs of Injustice*. After having settled all *Things* in the most excellent Order, he revolved a *Variety of Thoughts*, and reflected for a consider- able *Time*, whether he should continue himself at the *Head of the Empire*, or restore the *People* to their *ancient Liberty*. The Examples of *Sylla* and *Julius Cæ-
sar*, tho' very different, made an equal Impression upon him, in favour of the last Reflection. He considered that *Sylla*, who had made a voluntary *Resignation* of the *Dictatorship*, died peaceably in the *Midst* of his *Enemies*; and that *Cæsar*, by retaining that *Dignity*, had been assassinated by his best *Friends*, who were so far from blushing, that they gloried in the *Action*. During this *Uncertainty*, he consulted *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa*, his

principal Friends. *Agrrippa*, to whose Valour he owed the Empire, advising him to resign it : whilst *Mæcenas* was of an opposite Opinion. He assured him, that it would be impossible for the State to subsist but under a Monarch ; and this he enforced with a Multitude of Reasons, observing particularly, that he could not resign his Authority without endangering his Life ; but that, on the contrary, both his Person and Power would be secure under a wise and equitable Administration.

Q. Whose Advice did he follow ?

A. That of *Mæcenas* ; but tho' he still continued the supreme Authority in his own Hands, he yet offered the Senate to resign it, and at the same time resolved the contrary. However, they all united in refusing him ; some from Affection, others thro' Fear, and many from a political View : So that he might affirm, that both the Senate and the People had forced the *Ann. Rom. 726.* Helm of Government upon him. But, to insinuate himself still farther into the Esteem of the Great, and the Confidence of the People, he immediately declared, that he would not accept of the Sovereign Dignity for a longer Term than five Years ; but at the Expiration of this Term he continued it 10 Years longer, and afterwards 20. Thus by discovering, from time to time, an Inclination to restore the People to their ancient Liberty, and employing all his Care to settle the Empire on a happy and lasting Foundation, he maintained himself during the rest of his Life, (the Transactions of which I shall not here take Notice of) in the supreme Authority ; and left this good Saying of himself behind him, " That it had been well he had never been born, or had never died." The *Romans* had now attained to the utmost Pitch of Perfection, with regard to Taste and polite Literature, as appears from their Writings ; for besides *Virgil* above-mentioned, there flourished *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Ovid*, and *Horace*, all fine Poets in their several Manners of Writing, especially the last, " who was the greatest Master of Life, and of true Sense in the Conduct of it." *Livy*, the Prince of the *Roman* Historians, was likewise their Contemporary.

temporary. They all had a great share in the Familiarity of *Mæcenas* (who was one of the greatest Encouragers of Learning that ever lived) as well as in that of *Cæsar*.

Q. What other Regulations were made by him?

A. He preserved all the Offices and Dignities of the State; so that during his whole Reign, there were Consuls, Praetors, Aediles, and other Magistrates of the Commonwealth. These performed the Functions of their respective Employments, tho' they were all dependent on a superior Power, by which only they were actuated. *Cæsar*, as a Proof that he had no Design of invading the Liberties of the People, suffered the Senate to share with him in the Government of the Provinces; but then he resigned to them such only as lay in the Centre of the Empire, and which might be maintained without Guards or Garrisons; he taking upon himself the Administration of those that were exposed to the Incursions of the Barbarians; by which artful Conduct, he rendered the Senate of no Use, and at the same time engrossed to himself all the Forces of the Empire. A *Lustrum* being performed, 4,063,000 Inhabitants, (Women, Children, and Slaves being included) were found; which Number appears almost incredible, unless we consider the vast Extent of the City and Suburbs of *Rome*, which Authors of Credit affirm to have been 50 Miles in Compass at this Time. Immediately after the Provinces were divided, and all public Affairs settled, the Name of *Augustus Ann. Rom. 727.* (as intimating something more than mortal) was bestowed upon *Cæsar*. Here ended the greatest Commonwealth upon Earth, and at the same time began the greatest Monarchy, which made so august a Figure, that for many Years, it was thought to be immortal. The *Roman* Dominions were now brought almost to their utmost Limits, they containing, in *Europe*; *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Dacia*, *Pannonia*, with Part of *Britain*, and *Germany*. In *Asia*; *Asia Minor*, *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, with Part of *Mesopotamia* and *Media*. In *Africa*; *Egypt*, *Numidia*,

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Mauritania, and Lybia; besides many Islands, &c. As to the Romans themselves, they did not discover so elevated a Disposition, either with regard to Genius or Strength of Mind, as in some Ages of the Commonwealth, but then they were more polite and sociable. Never were more glorious, or at least more delightful Days seen than under *Augustus*; all Wars and Contests being at an End; Arts and Sciences in a flourishing Condition; Wealth and Pleasures of every Kind abounding, whereby that Monarch became the Darling of his Subjects.

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